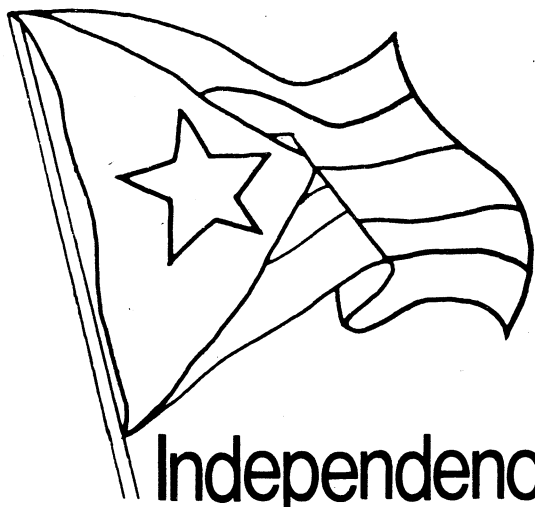


THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

PUERTO RICO



Independence
now!

—PAGE 26

Israel's 'peace plan': blueprint for war

—PAGES 8, 10

President of the rich: Carter's first six months

—PAGES 4, 10

Teng Hsiao-p'ing
Peking bureaucrats
restore
'capitalist road'

—PAGE 9

STEEL

Do imports cause layoffs?

Iron Range steel strike set

—PAGE 28

Racist rampage in Chicago



CHICAGO—Racists overturn Black family's car in Marquette Park neighborhood. Earlier, cops prevented Black open-housing marchers from entering area. Page 3.

ADDITIONAL SUPPLEMENT
International
socialist
review
INSIDE

THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 3 Racist rampage in Chicago
- 4 Carter's first six months
- 5 Louisville socialist runs for mayor
- 6 Reopen the Rosenberg case
- 7 Skyhorse-Mohawk win support
- 24 N.Y. liberals attack 'looters'
- 25 Gay rights protests set
- 26 Self-determination for Puerto Rico
- 28 Steelworkers set Iron Range strike
- 29 Busing aided Boston students
- 32 Which way for teachers?
- 2 In Brief
- 10 In Our Opinion Letters
- 23 National Picket Line Women in revolt
- WORLD OUTLOOK
- 8 Begin's phony 'peace plan'
- 9 Chinese bureaucrats bring back Teng
- 11-22 International Socialist Review

THE MILITANT

VOLUME 41/NUMBER 30
AUGUST 5, 1977
CLOSING NEWS DATE—JULY 27

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Published weekly by the Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office (212) 243-6392; Business Office (212) 929-3486. Southwest Bureau: 1250 Wilshire Blvd., Suite 404, Los Angeles, California 90017. Telephone: (213) 482-3184. Washington Bureau: 1424 16th St. NW, #701-B, Washington, D.C. 20036. Telephone: (202) 265-6865.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: U.S., \$9.00 a year; outside U.S., \$14.50. By first-class mail: U.S., Canada, and Mexico: \$36.50. Write for surface and airmail rates to all other countries.

For subscriptions airmailed from New York and then posted from London directly to Britain and Ireland: £2.00 for ten issues, £4.50 for six months, £8.50 for one year. Posted from London to Continental Europe: £2.50 for ten issues, £6.00 for six months, £11.50 for one year. Send banker's draft or international postal order (payable to Pathfinder Press) to Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London SE1 8LL, England. Inquire for air rates from London at the same address.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

Carter: 'no apologies' for racist record

By Omari Musa

WASHINGTON, July 26—President Carter told 4,500 participants at the sixty-seventh annual conference of the National Urban League here that he had “no apologies to make” for his administration.

Carter also sharply criticized Urban League Executive Director Vernon Jordan, whose keynote address had assailed Carter's welfare reform, antibusing bills in Congress, attempts to block affirmative action, and denial of public funds for abortion.

Carter answered Jordan's criticisms by telling the conference not to rock the boat. “It takes time to change history,” he said.

Nonetheless, at a news conference after Carter's speech, Jordan said he was “heartened” by Carter's appearance, and pledged to cooperate with the administration.

Jordan also announced that a national Black leadership meeting will take place in August. He immediately made clear, however, that the meeting would offer no real solutions to the problems facing Black Americans.

The Black community would be excluded, so the meeting could be held in “private.” The Urban League, he said, had sent invitations to a select list: Bayard Rustin of the A. Philip Randolph Institute; NAACP Executive Director-designate Benjamin Hooks; Rev. Jesse Jackson; Operation PUSH; Leon Sullivan, Opportunities Investment Corporation; Dorothy Height, head of the National Council of Negro Women; and U.S. Rep. Parren Mitchell.

The purpose of the meeting, according to Jordan, is to discuss how to bring pressure on the administration. However, Jordan presented no plan of action that he or the Urban League would propose to the meeting.

Jordan's call for a conference was endorsed the next day by Rev. Jesse Jackson of Operation PUSH, who said he supported it “1,000 percent.”

Benjamin Hooks, newly elected NAACP executive director, said he would “endorse every line” of Jordan's speech in his own address to the Urban League convention.

FINAL OK ON SEABROOK: The U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission lifted its ban on construction at the Seabrook, New Hampshire, nuclear power plant July 26. Construction could begin Monday, August 1.

Immediate appeal of the NRC ruling is impossible because the body has only two of five seats filled, so that its meetings lack a quorum.

HIT GRAND JURY WITCH-HUNT: Two hundred people demonstrated on July 25 at Chicago's federal building against federal grand jury harassment of the Puerto Rican independence movement. The government claims to be investigating bombings it has attributed to a mysterious group calling itself the FALN (Armed Forces of Puerto Rican National Liberation).

At a packed hearing before a U.S. district judge, lawyers for persons subpoenaed by the grand jury argued that the subpoenas should be quashed on grounds that all those subpoenaed are Latinos, while not one of the twenty-three jurors is Latino.

At the hearing, the judge denied this motion along with motions challenging the grand jury because of government use of informers and wiretaps.

The last issue of the 'Militant' before our summer break will be dated August 5. We will resume our regular schedule with the issue dated August 26.

WORKERS TIRE OF BUREAUCRATS' SWEET TALK: On July 15, more than 2,700 workers at Brach Candy Company shut down the company's main plant in Chicago. The walkout began after officials of Teamsters Local 738 refused to meet with Brach workers to discuss a recently negotiated contract that most employees oppose.

Large, militant picket lines have closed the plant for a week-and-a-half in the face of opposition from union officials, threats from the company, and police attacks on the picketers.

All but a few workers have respected the strike.

PROTEST FREES FARMWORKERS: Forty-five Texas farm workers and their supporters were arrested July 18 in Pearl River County, Mississippi. They had left Austin, Texas, June 18 on a “March for Human Rights” to Washington, D.C. The farm workers want repeal of “open shop” legislation and the right to organize a union.

The Pearl River sheriff charged marchers with blocking traffic and held them on \$50 bail. A photographer who tried to take a picture was charged with interfering with an arresting officer and held on \$1,000 bail.

After widespread protests from civil libertarians, labor and religious figures, and media inquiries, all forty-five were released. The sheriff said the whole thing had been a “mistake.”

UNEMPLOYMENT RISES, SO GOV'T CUTS BENEFITS: The government reported in June that unemployment rose to 7.1 percent of the labor force. The response? On July 23, unemployment benefits were cut off for some 218,000 workers.

Here's the story: States pay jobless benefits for up to twenty-six weeks. Then the federal government is supposed to pay for another thirteen weeks of “extended” benefits when unemployment is high. (It used to be twenty-six weeks of extended benefits until Carter and Congress cut it back earlier this year.) But these extended benefits were stopped altogether July 23 for thirty-seven states and the District of Columbia.

Washington says the extended benefits aren't needed any more because the jobless rate for workers covered by unemployment insurance has fallen below 4.5 percent. And this insured rate is far lower than the overall unemployment rate because—you guessed it—so many unemployed workers are never eligible for jobless benefits in the first place.

VICTORY FOR GAY TEACHERS: The California Supreme Court has reinstated—with back pay—a Long Beach elementary school teacher who had been dismissed from his job after a 1972 arrest for “homosexual solicitation.” No criminal charges had been filed as a result of the arrest. The court ruled that the teacher's conduct did not make him unfit to teach.

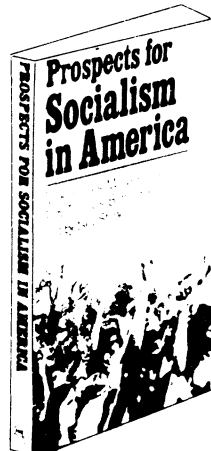
UMWA BOARD WON'T CALL NEW ELECTION: Arnold Miller was certified as president of the United Mine Workers of America July 21 when the UMWA International Executive Board refused to overturn the results of the June 14 referendum election. Defeated right-wing candidate Lee Roy Patterson, who had demanded a rerun of the election, says he will now take his challenge to the federal Labor Department.

The next day Miller and the board agreed not to call a ten-day “memorial holiday.” Many miners had urged such action to back up their protests against cutbacks in medical benefits. The cutbacks threaten to close nonprofit coal-field medical clinics serving more than 300,000 persons. As of July 25, some 25,000 coal miners in Kentucky and West Virginia were continuing wildcat strikes against the cutbacks. Leaders of UMWA District 17 voted in Charleston, West Virginia, July 26 to hold a protest march on Washington. No date was set for the action.

—Arnold Weissberg

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Chicago: bigots rampage in Marquette Park

By Elizabeth Stone

CHICAGO—Hundreds of white racists went on the rampage in the Marquette Park area of this city Saturday, July 24. They attacked Black passersby, threw rocks and beer cans at Black motorists, and overturned cars.

The racists gathered near a park to wait for an open-housing demonstration called by the Martin Luther King Movement Coalition. The demonstration, which began about a mile-and-a-half from where the racists assembled, was broken up by police after it had proceeded only six blocks.

Although the forty Black demonstrators were orderly and peaceful, police arrested three marchers, claiming the march was "disorderly."

Meanwhile, mobs of racists near the park began random attacks on Blacks. Nineteen people were treated in nearby hospitals, most of them hurt by flying rocks and bottles. Ten cars and a city bus were damaged.

One Black couple driving through the area crashed into an oncoming car while trying to flee the racists. Police pulled them out of their car and took them away. Later, racist youths turned over the car.

Several Black youths fled into a nearby home after they were attacked. Their car was demolished.

The Nazi Party, which has its public headquarters in the area, played a role in these attacks. The bigots carried placards with the Nazi slogan "Niggers beware."

The leaders of the Martin Luther King Movement Coalition charged police with failure to provide protection for their march. Police Chief James Rochford responded by claiming that 700 police had been slated to come to the area, but were not sent because of a phone call saying the march had been canceled.

March leaders say police made no effort to confirm the alleged cancellation.

The Marquette Park area has been the scene of violent attacks on Blacks for the past several years. Homes of Black families have been bombed and burned by racists. Black bus drivers, passersby, and motorists have been attacked. Marchers demonstrating a year ago for open housing were as-

saulted by racist mobs while police stood by.

There has been no effective response to this racist violence. The press has downplayed its seriousness, and city officials have allowed it to continue.

The Martin Luther King Movement Coalition is small and relatively isolated. As yet, no sizeable Black organizations or labor unions have taken significant actions against the racists.

The Chicago Student Coalition Against Racism issued a statement condemning the racist rampage: "The majority of people in this city are outraged by the racist lynch-mob violence. What is needed is a massive counter mobilization of antiracist forces that can stop these anti-Black thugs in their tracks."

Racist mob attacks Blacks at Boston beach

By Maceo Dixon and Robb Wright

BOSTON—Four persons were hospitalized, including at least one Black woman, when 150 white racists attacked Blacks and Puerto Ricans at Carson Beach here, Sunday, July 24.

The white mob threw rocks and bottles trying to clear the beach of Blacks and Puerto Ricans, who hurled the missiles back in self-defense. Cops who were at the scene refused to arrest the attackers.

Instead they shoved the Black and Puerto Rican bathers off the beach to the nearby Columbia Point housing project. Two years ago, when 1,000 Blacks and their supporters demonstrated against racist violence at Carson Beach, police pulled a similar maneuver.

The racist assault had been brewing for two days. On Friday, and again on Saturday, the Black and Puerto Rican Columbia Point community had successfully exercised its right to use the beach, which South Boston racists have staked out as their stronghold.

In the week leading up to the protests at the beach, temperatures here rose to record levels above 100 degrees. To beat the heat children opened fire hydrants and played in the water in the streets. Three of the children were accidentally hit by passing cars.

Columbia Point parents decided that from then on their children would use the nearby beach.

During the first day on the beach 150 bigots from South Boston's antibusing movement gathered menacingly. Shouting racist epithets, James Kelley, head of the South Boston Information Center, and Dan Yotts, leader of the South Boston Marshals, tried to provoke an attack on the Columbia Point residents.

The beach party demanded that police on the scene protect their right to stay and continued swimming and sunning for about an hour-and-a-half.

On Saturday a group of white bigots protested Blacks and Puerto Ricans using the beach by planting American, Confederate, and ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights—an antibusing group) flags in the sand near the bathhouse entrance.

Sunday's white riot on the beach prompted a racist outburst around the city. In one incident a group of white thugs from South Boston smashed the windshield and slashed the convertible roof of a car belonging to a Black couple, Kenneth and Edith Harris.

In another incident two racists from South Boston were stabbed by another white man defending his companion, a Black woman, from attack.

Socialist Workers Party candidate for Boston School Committee Hattie McCutcheon scored city officials for their refusal to enforce desegregation at Carson Beach and protect targets of racist assaults. City hall and the police, McCutcheon said, "are part and parcel of the racist antibusing



Militant/Maceo Dixon

Columbia Point residents staged three-day protest at Carson Beach

forces in this city.

"They have never protected the rights of Black people or Puerto Ricans to walk the streets without fear of victimization.

"No matter what it takes," McCutcheon continued, "even federal mar-

shals, Blacks and Puerto Ricans must be guaranteed our right to enjoy Carson Beach.

"Our communities need an emergency meeting to discuss how we can concretely respond to these latest racist attacks."

500 attend Operation PUSH convention

By Sam Manuel

LOS ANGELES—In an interview with the *Los Angeles Times* published the day before the opening here of the sixth national convention of Operation PUSH (People United to Save Humanity), the Rev. Jesse Jackson, PUSH national president, declared:

"It took a poor people's march during the Kennedy and Johnson administrations to get the public accommodations and voting rights bills passed. I think the same thing is needed for the Carter administration."

But Jackson announced no date for the march. In fact, he didn't even mention it for the next five days of the convention.

Judging from the sentiment of convention participants, the idea would have received an enthusiastic response.

Prior to a convention labor workshop, Labor Secretary Ray Marshall delivered a fifteen-minute pitch for Carter's offensive against undocumented workers.

At the workshop itself, one delegate sought to outdo Carter on this score. He proposed that PUSH oppose the Carter amnesty plan, because, he said,

those *mexicanos* would take jobs away from Blacks.

This reactionary proposal was defeated. One sister stated, to much applause, "Chicanos are not our enemy. The problem is not that someone's taking our jobs. The problem is that there's no jobs to take. Our enemy is not across the border, it's in Washington."

This same militant sentiment was expressed in other workshops. For example, although a workshop on women's rights was not part of the agenda, women delegates attending the convention made sure one took place. The workshop submitted to the convention a proposal that PUSH support the Equal Rights Amendment. The proposal was passed unanimously.

At another workshop on affirmative action, Tony Austin, coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism, proposed adoption of a resolution calling for a national conference of the Black movement to discuss strategy and a nationwide campaign of mass demonstrations. Though the workshop adopted the resolution, it did not reach the convention plenary session.

Austin, who met briefly with Jackson at the convention to discuss the idea of a national conference and mass march, told the *Militant* that four out of five convention participants received copies of NSCAR's Full Equality Now statement, and most seemed to agree with it.

But by the convention's end, this militant sentiment had been channeled into largely symbolic resolutions. Some were significant, such as those in support of the struggle of undocumented workers, for withdrawal of U.S. aid from South Africa, and in support of the Wilmington Ten.

These resolutions could take on importance if Jackson and other top PUSH leaders acted on them.

But they won't.

This was made clear by Jackson's refusal to talk up the march idea. Organizing such a march would bring PUSH into conflict with the Carter administration. Jackson and other top PUSH leaders are not prepared for that.

Like most other Black leaders today, Jackson is wedded to the strategy of collaboration with liberal Democratic and Republican party "friends of

Black folk" to win concessions and favors. And Carter is the Democratic "friend of Black folk" par excellence.

To these leaders the power of Blacks mobilized militant marches, pickets, rallies, and other forms of direct action must be subordinated to their overall strategy of wheeling and dealing with liberals.

Jackson so much as admitted that his call for a march was more bark than bite at a news conference following the convention. "It would be premature," he said, in answer to questioning on what sort of action PUSH planned, "to state that without having a body get together to come up with a strategy."

A number of Black leaders have expressed the idea this summer that a Black leadership meeting is needed.

But Jackson's next words laid out what he and the others have in mind. "We will meet with Carter," he said, "and his response will determine our action."

In other words, they will give Carter another chance to make another set of promises. He undoubtedly will, with a little intention of keeping the new ones

Continued on page 30

PRESIDENT OF THE RICH

Carter's first six months

By David Frankel

Like many others who keep abreast of government economic policies, New York *Daily News* columnist James Wieghart commented in a May 23 article on the "remarkable similarity between the Ford and Carter administrations' approaches to the nation's economic problems. . . ."

This similarity was disturbing to Wieghart. "If the new breed Democrats or the Coolidge vintage economic conservatives of the Ford or Ronald Reagan stripe have their way for the next decade, the social problems that seem too expensive to deal with today will engulf the nation," he warned.

As things turned out, Wieghart did not have to wait quite as long as he expected for indications of social unrest. An explosion of frustration and anger among the Black and Hispanic population of New York City took place less than two months later.

Although it was a coincidence that the events during New York's blackout occurred just before Carter marked his first six months in office, the symbolism was certainly appropriate. The most oppressed and exploited layers of the population delivered their own verdict on how things are going under the Carter regime.

Carter's attitude toward the poor was summed up by his callous statement on federal funding of abortions. "As you know," the president said, "there are many things in life that are not fair, that wealthy people can afford and poor people can't. But I don't believe that the federal government should take action to try to make these opportunities exactly equal. . . ."

Aryeh Neier, executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union, pointed out the real meaning of Carter's declaration. "During his campaign Carter promised to be the president of all the people. In his statements on abortion, he has shown that he is president of the rich."

Dismay at Carter's policies has also been expressed by *New York Times* columnist Tom Wicker. In a June 3 article, Wicker complained that "the stark fact is that the Carter economic policies have turned out to be not much different from Gerald Ford's."

Wicker cited Carter's policy of maintaining high unemployment under the guise of fighting inflation. He also singled out Carter's phony welfare reform, which will prevent an increase in the welfare budget by simply throwing a certain percentage of those on welfare off the relief rolls.

AFL-CIO begs for crumbs

Criticism of Carter has also come from the bureaucrats heading the AFL-CIO. Having spent an estimated \$11 million in trade-union money to help put Carter in the White House, they are desperate for any crumbs that can be palmed off as a return on their investment.

So far, all that George Meany can show is administration support for a "reform" of collective bargaining laws. But in return for these modest changes, Carter demanded that the labor movement drop demands for repeal of Section 14B of the Taft-Hartley Act, which allows states to outlaw the union shop.

And the AFL-CIO bureaucrats got even less on the issue of raising the federal minimum wage.

Currently, the federal minimum wage is \$2.30 an hour. As of February 1977, any worker earning less than \$2.91 an hour was making a wage below the federal poverty line. Nevertheless, Carter opposed an AFL-CIO proposal to raise the minimum wage to \$3.00.

Instead, the president of the rich suggested an increase to \$2.50. After some haggling, Carter agreed to \$2.65. After 1980, the minimum wage would remain at 53 percent of average hourly manufacturing wages, compared to the 60 percent

level urged by the AFL-CIO.

On the same day that Carter and the AFL-CIO reached accord on minimum wages, the president expressed worries that his friend, cabinet member Bert Lance, would suffer "an undue financial burden" if required to sell his stock in the National Bank of Georgia by the year-end deadline set by conflict-of-interest rules.

Concerned that Lance might take a \$1.6 million loss, Carter urged that he be given a special dispensation to delay sale of the stock.

Some might say that "there are many things in life that are not fair," but—as Lance found out—a special appeal from the president goes a long way toward relieving the unfairness of life.

Also helpful is the ability to buy stock worth \$3.25 million in the first place. Under capitalism, this is a qualification for office. It allows Carter and his friends to view the plight of poor women, the unemployed, and those working for the minimum wage with considerable detachment.

Human rights and neutron bombs

Speaking at the United Auto Workers convention May 17, Carter tried to justify his reactionary policies by saying it was necessary to "make some

rights" demagoguery of Carter, have argued that the neutron bomb is needed to counter a supposed Soviet threat in Europe.

But another aspect of the new weapon has not been touched on in the capitalist media.

What if the American imperialists had possessed neutron bombs during the war in Vietnam? Is it likely that the advocates of "surgical air strikes" would have denied themselves the use of such a weapon?

Carter himself noted in his July 12 news conference that the neutron bomb "is strictly designed as a tactical weapon. I think that this would give us some flexibility."

"Flexibility," indeed. The fact is that in ordering production of the neutron bomb, Carter has his eyes on the possibilities of new Angolan wars in Africa, or of a future Middle East war. This is part of American imperialism's answer to its military defeat in Vietnam.

Since the liberal opponents of the neutron bomb prefer to ignore the aggressive character of American imperialism, they have kept silent on this threat.

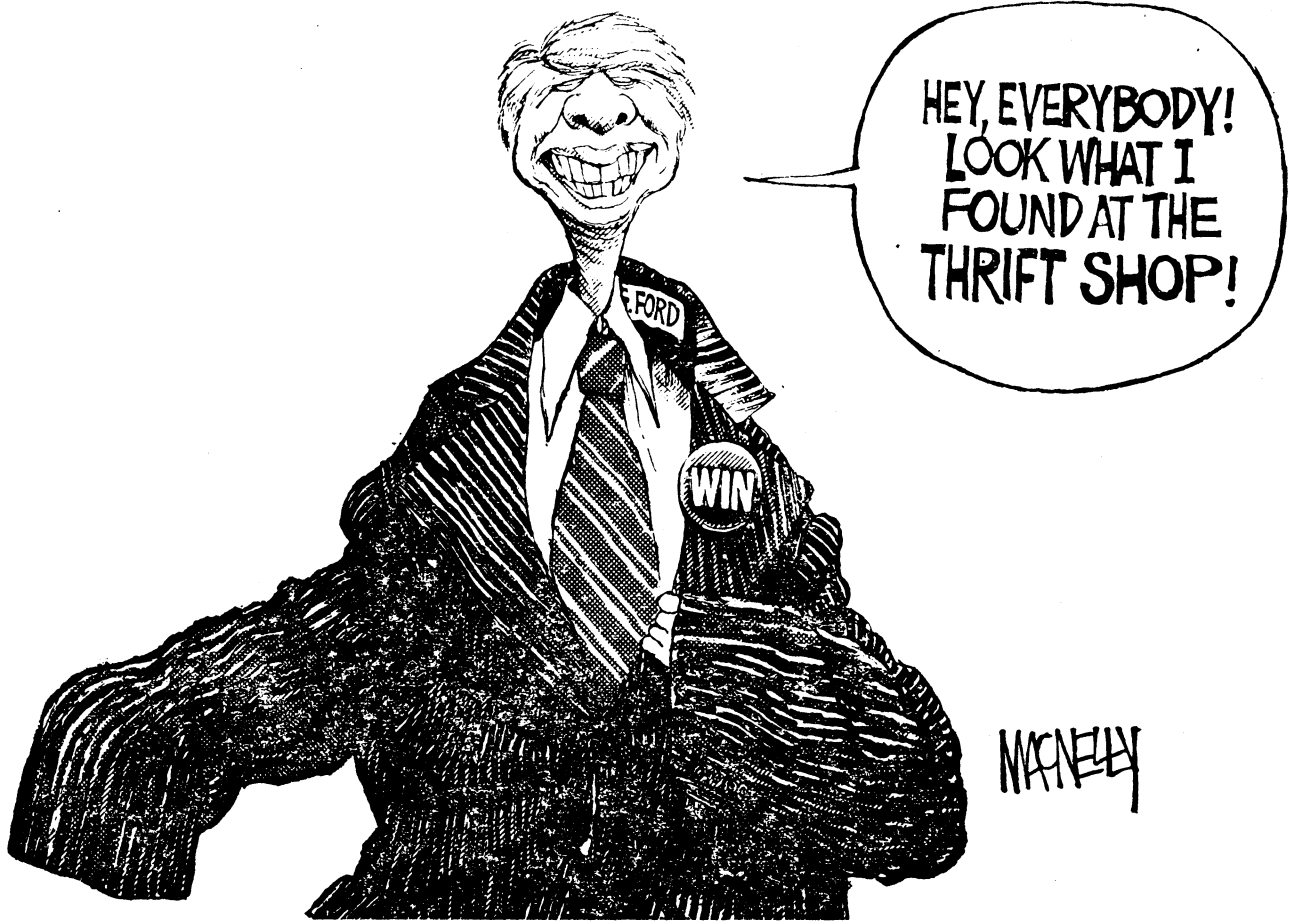
Selective morality

"Human rights" has been the rallying cry of Carter's foreign policy. The liberals who have been dismayed by his economic policies and distressed by his support to higher military spending and the neutron bomb have given warm backing to Carter's human rights rhetoric.

Typical among the opinion-molders was the following barefaced lie by the editors of the *New York Times*. They declared July 21 that "the United States is gradually but finally getting out of the business of providing weapons and know-how to the police agencies of authoritarian governments."

Meanwhile, the *Times* has been giving extensive coverage to the Carter administration's latest proposal for the sale of \$1.2 billion in military aircraft to the Iranian regime—one of the most notorious violators of human rights in the world.

Carter's selective morality is particularly apparent when it comes to questions of political repression or racial discrimination inside the United States. The American Civil Liberties Union marked Carter's first six months in office July 20 with a news conference attacking the administration's



hard choices about how we spend the taxpayers' money. We can't afford to do everything."

The character of Carter's choices says a lot about his priorities. While Carter has been busy cutting back real spending on education, health, and welfare, he has pushed through the biggest peacetime military budget in American history. And he promises to increase military expenditures still more.

In southern Africa and the Middle East, Carter has followed a policy calculated to buy time and to mobilize popular sentiment behind the idea that a U.S. role in these areas will help serve the causes of peace and justice. But Carter's actions, not his speeches, tell the real story.

From this point of view, the decision to go ahead with development of the neutron bomb—which is extremely deadly, but leaves most property intact—is particularly ominous. Supporters of the Pentagon's latest abomination, bolstered by the "human

record on civil liberties.

"We are very disappointed in what has taken place to date. . . .," ACLU executive director Neier said. "Over all, the administration's performance on civil liberties has been quite poor."

The Carter administration's record includes the following:

- Support for wiretapping. A bill being backed by the administration would allow "national security" wiretaps in cases where authorities are unable to show "probable cause" that a crime is being committed.

- Approval of a Federal Bureau of Investigation computer project that had previously been rejected by the Ford administration as a threat to civil liberties. Under the plan, the FBI central computer would be used as a switching center for all messages between local and state police agencies, thus establishing the possibility for a central

Continued on page 30

Louisville socialists run Tarnopol for mayor

By Dennis Rosa

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—A rally of fifty people marked the launching of Louisville's first Socialist Workers Party election campaign July 9. Debby Tarnopol is the SWP's nominee for mayor.

A major focus of Tarnopol's campaign will be defense of busing to achieve school desegregation.

Tarnopol explained to the rally: "The reason I will place such a top priority on busing is because busing is a symbol right now.

"Busing is where the line is drawn. The people who are fighting against busing are fighting against Black rights. The people who are fighting for busing are for Black rights."

Tarnopol went on to outline the role of the Democratic and Republican parties in attacking busing.

"Democrats and Republicans alike are doing everything in their power to discredit busing, to blame the nationwide school-budget crisis on busing, to encourage racist treatment in the

schools. They are jumping at the chance to whip up race prejudice in the white community," she said.

Another central issue in the SWP campaign will be the defense of women's rights. Tarnopol noted that "one of the most fundamental questions in deciding whether women can



DEBBY TARNOPOL

Militant/Richard Graef

have equal opportunities is the question of abortion.

"In Louisville," she went on, "the city rulers are united in this campaign to take away abortion rights and abortion facilities from women. One-third of the abortions done in this country every year are Medicaid abortions. If Louisville's general hospital closes its abortion facilities to poor women, dozens of women will die from illegal abortions this year."

The rally heard greetings from leaders of struggles for social change.

Ilene Carver, a staff member of Progress in Education, the major probusing organization in the city, pointed to the Tarnopol campaign as a way to expose the duplicity of the school board, which has tried to gut the desegregation plan.

The board has instituted a series of educational cutbacks and has tried to blame these on the busing plan. The truth, however, is that less than 2 percent of the school budget goes for

busing to achieve desegregation.

Greetings were also heard from Kathy Colebank, president of the Louisville chapter of the National Organization for Women.

Pointing to escalating attacks on women, gays, Blacks, and working people generally, Colebank said, "I'm glad to offer my support to Debby because she will represent all these people."

Linda Scharnberger, a leader of the Lesbian Feminist Union, linked Anita Bryant's campaign against gay rights to other attacks on the oppressed.

"We are oppressed as lesbians, and we are oppressed as women," Scharnberger declared. "As a gay woman, I personally appreciate Debby Tarnopol's support for lesbians, gay men, and women's rights."

Other speakers at the rally were Evonne Furr, a Black woman who recently joined the SWP, and Robert Jones, a former Kentucky death row prisoner.

Campaigning for Socialism

MINNEAPOLIS DISCLOSURE LAW EXEMPTION: A bill to allow exemptions from Minneapolis's campaign financing disclosure law was introduced in the city council in July. The proposed law would allow organizations to keep names of financial contributors secret in cases of possible economic reprisal, physical coercion, or loss of employment.

The Socialist Workers Party won such an exemption previously under Minnesota state law.

SOCIALISTS FILE PETITIONS IN HOUSTON: Diane Sarge, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Houston, and Sas Scoggins, SWP nominee for city council Position 2, each filed more than 5,000 signatures of Houston voters to qualify for the ballot on July 21. The signatures were in lieu of a \$1,750 filing fee for each candidate.

Several prominent Houstonians have endorsed the right of the socialists to appear on the ballot and have urged prompt certification of the petitions.

NEW YORK PETITIONING: Supporters of the Socialist Workers Party New York City campaign—Catarino Garza for mayor, Jane Roland for city council president, and Robert Des Verney for comptroller—will take to the streets July 25 through July 30 to collect the 15,000 signatures necessary to get the socialists on the ballot.

They will also be gathering 6,000 signatures to put Nick Sanchez on the ballot for city council from the Lower East Side.

ON THE PHOENIX CAMPAIGN TRAIL: Jessica Sampson announced her candidacy June 16 as the first Socialist Workers Party nominee to run for mayor of Phoenix. Sampson, who has been an advocate of the Equal Rights Amendment and abortion rights and an active supporter of the United Farm Workers, calls for taxing the rich, not working people. She wants to eliminate the sales tax, end bond interest payments (\$16 million last year in Phoenix), and place a 100 percent tax on polluting corporations.

Sampson's supporters must gather 3,000 signatures to get her name on the ballot.

ARIZA SUPPORTERS PICKET DEBATE: Supporters of Rich Ariza, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of New Jersey, picketed a recent debate between Ariza's opponents in Atlantic City, to protest the exclusion of the socialist contender from the event.

The televised debate featured incumbent Gov. Brendan Byrne, a Democrat, and Raymond Bateman, a Republican. They argued that the debate was actually a "news event" to justify excluding Ariza.

But the two capitalist candidates "say the same thing on every issue, except that one's for a sales tax, the other's for an income tax," Ariza commented.

The debate was also picketed by the local chapter of the Welfare Rights Organization, which demanded funding for jobs for youth and welfare recipients.

PROBusing CANDIDATES ON BOSTON BALLOT: Hattie McCutcheon, SWP candidate for Boston School Committee (school board), has qualified for the ballot. McCutcheon will challenge the racist, antibusing policies of the current committee.

Also on the ballot is Diane Jacobs, SWP candidate for city council.

Their supporters gathered nearly 8,000 signatures to get the two candidates on the ballot.

LESNIK ON SAN DIEGO BALLOT: Rich Lesnik, SWP candidate for San Diego city council, has filed more than 500 signatures to get on the ballot. Two hundred valid signatures are necessary.

The SWP is also running Susan Hampton for school board and Antonio González for city council.

—Arnold Weissberg

High court OK's ballot restrictions

By Arnold Weissberg

The U.S. Supreme Court upheld a California law June 27 making it virtually impossible for small parties to get on the ballot for statewide office.

A small party must gather 636,460 signatures, equal to 10 percent of the last gubernatorial vote, to qualify for the 1978 ballot.

That is the legal minimum. To allow for invalid signatures, at least 100,000 more must be collected.

The Democratic and Republican parties appear on the ballot automatically, as do the Peace and Freedom Party and the American Independent Party.

A party may also qualify for the ballot by registering 63,646 voters. The registration process is made more difficult by the state's requirement that it must take place nearly a year before the election—in 1977 for the 1978 ballot, a time when interest in politics is at a low ebb.

The registration route is also difficult for another reason. Some small parties—such as the Socialist Workers Party, one of the plaintiffs in the suit that led to the ruling—have been subjected to organized government harassment.

Many people are afraid to register SWP because they fear getting their name on an FBI list.

The law was challenged by five small parties—Socialist Workers Party, Raza Unida Party, Libertarian Party, Socialist Labor Party, and the

Prohibition Party. They charged that the ballot requirements were so difficult as to be impossible, and were an infringement on free speech and assembly.

The high court rejected this charge, upholding the requirements as a reasonable way to keep the ballot from getting "too crowded."

A lower court has thrown out another restrictive state ballot law. This law barred any party that didn't qualify for the state ballot from the ballot for any office in the state.

For example, since the Raza Unida Party was unable to qualify for the statewide ballot, none of its many local candidates could have the RUP designation on the ballot.

They were forced to appear on the ballot as "independents," thus making it less likely that RUP supporters would vote for them.

The state is appealing the lower court decision to throw out this law.

Although none of the five parties that sued against restrictive election laws can qualify for the state ballot, some of their candidates may be able to, also as "independents."

Presidential candidates of the Socialist Workers, Libertarian, and Communist parties qualified via the "independent" route in 1976. The SWP also got its candidate for U.S. Senate on the ballot in the same way.

Qualifying as an "independent" is not an easy task—100,000 valid signatures are necessary.

San Diego SWP ordered to disclose contributors

The California Fair Political Practices Commission turned down a request from the San Diego Socialist Workers Campaign Committee for an exemption from the state's disclosure laws on July 7, despite the fact that the same commission has granted exemptions to SWP candidates in Los Angeles and Oakland.

The exemptions in Los Angeles and Oakland were based on the evidence of past harassment of SWP campaign supporters by government agencies. Even though the San Diego socialists produced the same evidence, the commission turned them down.

Rich Lesnik, SWP candidate for city council, attacked the decision as an attempt to maintain the two-

party ballot monopoly.

The commission, Lesnik noted, charged that without disclosure a big party could use a small party as a front to draw votes from a rival.

This charge, he said, is nothing but an attempt to stampede voters into the Democrats' and Republicans' arms.

Meanwhile, the San Diego city council abolished a law requiring all candidates to funnel their campaign funds through city-controlled bank accounts. Candidates may now set up their own accounts.

The law had also required disclosure of names and addresses of anyone who contributed more than fifty cents.

—A.W.



Why reopen the Rosenberg case?

An Interview

In 1951 Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were convicted, along with Morton Sobell, of stealing atom bomb "secrets" for the Soviet Union. The Rosenbergs were executed in 1953. Sobell was sentenced to thirty years in jail.

All three were victims of the anticommunist witch-hunt carried out by the rulers of this country following the Second World War.

The National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case (NCCRC) is trying to expose the truth of the infamous frame-up against the Rosenbergs and Sobell. On June 19, the twenty-fourth anniversary of the Rosenbergs' death, the committee sponsored a demonstration at the federal courthouse in New York City.

At that protest Stacey Seigle and Diane Wang interviewed Michael Meeropol, one of the Rosenbergs' sons, and Les Baltimore, NCCRC chairperson.

For more information about the case write: NCCRC, 853 Broadway, eleventh floor, New York, New York 10003.

Militant. Why did you decide to fight to reopen the Rosenberg case?

Meeropol. As the sons of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, Robbie and I always knew that sooner or later we'd do something. We never knew what or when. It was always something in the future. I'd like to say that we sat down and seriously concluded that the time was right. But it didn't happen that way.

Four years ago we sued Louis Nizer. He wrote a book appropriating, without our permission, letters our parents wrote to us.

We were stripped of our privacy by filing that suit. The issue of whether we would do things in public was not a question. We no longer had to ask ourselves: What would this do to our lives, to our families?

Then people began to talk to us about forming a committee. We said: Of course we'll work with you.

Changing mood

But the really interesting issue is not why Robbie and I did this, but why there was a need for it to be done?

Way back in 1955 when John Wexley wrote *The Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg*, or in 1965 when Walter and Miriam Schneir wrote *Invitation to an Inquest*, [two books exposing the Rosenberg frame-up] or even in 1969 when Morton Sobell got out of jail, there was still a mystique surrounding the government. Something like: You don't really believe the government would lie, do you? You don't believe they would forge something?—as we charge the Hilton Hotel card was forged in the government frame-up against my parents.

After Watergate, those questions sounded stupid. So there was a feeling that it was a good time to really expose the frame-up.

I think it's probably the same motive that led the Socialist Workers Party to file its suit [the \$40 million suit against government harassment]. You know, the SWP probably suspected the government crimes a long time before the suit forced the government to admit them. But you never thought there would be any chance of getting anywhere with a lawsuit.

I think the NCCRC was formed as a result of the same changes that were occurring in this country.

But maybe somebody on the committee who is not a Rosenberg could give different reasons.

Baltimore. Of course, my experience is different from Michael's. As I began to get involved in the political struggles in the late fifties and the sixties, I found there was one thing that stood in the way of reaching out as broadly as I wanted to—the fear of communism.

Everything I was involved in—the peace movement, defense of the Cuban revolution, the civil rights movement—we were constantly dealing with the charge that we were, if not witting, at least unwitting tools of the communists. The government labeled every reform movement as communist, and it became clear to me that the American people had to be educated to see through this.

And a key element in the government's anticommunist campaign was the atom-spy trial, the frame-up of the Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell.

It has become clear to me that what

the government achieved out of the trial helped shape the basis of American domestic and foreign policy—the concept that the enemies of the American people are "communists," abroad and at home.

Cointelpro [FBI Counterintelligence Program], under which the SWP was harassed, was based on the idea that "communists look like the rest of us, pretend to be Americans, and are all around—therefore extraordinary means must be used to ferret them out." This is what has to be exposed about the Rosenberg-Sobell frame-up. That the government used it to scare the American people.

Meeropol. I want to mention another thing that's important. In a speech my brother gave that was reprinted in the *International Socialist Review*, he made the point that the NCCRC is not a defense committee. To a certain extent, it's an offense committee. We are on the offensive in charging the government with framing up and murdering my parents.

Challenging gov't credibility

You see, Watergate gave the movement a slight breather from the repression of the late sixties and early seventies. Now the breather is over, and they're trying to come back hard against dissenters, radicals. Look at the way the government is using the

That's what they had in the 1950s. J. Edgar Hoover said the word, and nobody challenged him. Now that he's dead, they're trying to blame everything bad on him, to make us think, "well, now he's gone, and we're all right."

Militant. What is the current legal status of your Freedom of Information Act request for documents from the case?

Meeropol. There are two things. One aspect is the lawsuit to force the government to turn the documents over.

But the most important aspect is that we are publicizing the material once we get it. In fact, there are thousands of pages of government files in the U.S. attorney's office in New York and at the FBI offices in Washington that we have not yet been able to pay the required ten cents a page for.

But we desperately need people to volunteer to read through them. That's our biggest problem right now.

Militant. When you filed under the Freedom of Information Act what were you expecting to find? Have you been surprised?

Baltimore. I thought at the beginning that I couldn't be surprised, but I was wrong. I was blown away by some of the material we have discovered.

FBI spitefulness

For instance, when Michael and Robbie lived in New Jersey after the execution, the FBI sent anonymous letters to the school district to let them know these were the Rosenberg orphans. Then the school district "just happened" to find that Michael and Robbie couldn't really attend the schools where they were enrolled because they were from out of the district.

Also, the FBI attempted to get control of the trust fund so that Michael and Robbie would be weaned away from the people who were still concerned with vindicating Julius and Ethel and were fighting to get Sobell out of prison.

The last documents we got were dated 1975, and concerned Judge Irving Kaufman, who was the judge in the trial. Now he's chief federal appeals court judge in New York. This document reports that Kaufman wrote to the FBI expressing concern about the NCCRC and suggesting that the bureau take action against the committee! And this is after Watergate, after the FBI crimes have been made public!

Meeropol. We've always talked in the past about Judge Kaufman being unfair at the trial. Now we recognize that his actions, as revealed in the documents, are the perfect example of a politicized judiciary. You know, the judiciary came out of Watergate smelling like a rose, but in fact a politicized judiciary is one of the keys of the repressive apparatus.

'Always remember that we were innocent and could not wrong our conscience. . . .'

**—Ethel and Julius Rosenberg
June 19, 1953**

grand jury in the FALN case to harass the Puerto Rican independence movement. Look at the harassment of the Panthers and the American Indian Movement.

What Robbie said in his speech was that by exposing the secret police forces in the U.S., in effect we are creating the situation where it will be harder for them to attack us. When they try to repress us again, they will be weaker.

Most significantly, they are not going to have that unchallenged credibility with the American people.

And I had no idea there would be such extensive documents from the FBI field offices. We are the first Freedom of Information case against the FBI that has attempted to go beyond their headquarters in Washington, and they are resisting strenuously because they claim it would reveal too much. So the next step is to force the release of field office material.

Baltimore. These documents make it so clear why those of us who want to change the direction of this society have to struggle. It's all in the documents.

Carter's 'amnesty' plan for undocumented immigrants is cover for harsh crackdown

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—According to reports in the July 21 *New York Times* and July 22 *Los Angeles Times*, the Carter administration is now putting the finishing touches on proposals for a crackdown on undocumented immigrants. Word that such a crackdown was being planned by the White House has circulated since last February, but exact details of the plan have apparently been debated within the administration over the past several months.

According to the latest reports, Carter will propose to Congress that legislation be enacted that would grant "full amnesty" to "illegal aliens" who can prove they have worked here since 1970 or before.

Immigration Director Leonel Castillo predicted to the *Los Angeles Times* July 13 that "the reality is that the amnesty program . . . will shock everybody by its smallness."

Castillo put the number who would qualify for such amnesty at 500,000. That would be less than 7 percent of the 8 million people estimated by the government to be here without papers.

The July 21 *New York Times* article agreed with Castillo's estimate: "It is widely believed that the number of alien workers who have been in the country seven years or longer is a relatively small fraction of the total," *The Times* said. "The estimates run from under 500,000 to about a million. . . ."

The plan would also reportedly permit those who entered the country before January 1, 1977, to continue working here. But they would be denied all rights.

Those who came in before 1970 would be eligible to bring in their families, and they could qualify for social benefits on the same basis as resident aliens.

Those who came in between 1970 and 1977 could stay and work. But they would not have the right to bring in their families. They would also be denied medical care, welfare, and other

social needs. According to one report, their children *might* be permitted an education.

Their only assured right would be the right to be superexploited.

According to the press accounts, the proposed package will not include at this time a special identification for all workers.

When word of the ID proposal got out last February, it evoked such wide opposition that Carter apparently decided to proceed more cautiously.

Secretary of Labor Ray Marshall did tell the *Los Angeles Times* July 22 that he still favors issuing permanent IDs to young workers applying for their first jobs and requiring them of all workers as they change jobs.

In a relatively short time this would mean that all U.S. workers would have to carry internal passports. Such cards would make it much easier for the government and employers to target and blacklist union militants and political activists.

The administration also apparently favors legislation making it an offense for an employer to "knowingly" hire undocumented workers.

The purpose of such a law would not be to prevent employers from hiring undocumented workers when they need them. It would simply be one more device to put pressure on the undocumented workers to work for starvation wages.

An unnamed official told the *New*

York Times July 21 that the proposed hiring statute would fine "big employers who repeatedly flouted the law." The *Times* added, "The penalties would not apply to small companies, which are the principal employers of illegal workers."

Another key ingredient in Carter's proposal is to beef up the border patrol to more effectively control the flow of undocumented people into the country.

Press accounts indicate that the Carter administration considers the entire package an "initial" one and does not anticipate winning congressional passage this year.

The main problem seems to be convincing employers and their repre-

Continued on page 30

Antideportation activists demand full rights

By Mark Schneider

SAN ANTONIO, Tex.—At a well-attended news conference here July 25, Chicano supporters of the International Committee on Immigration and Public Policy commented on Carter's "amnesty."

The ICIPP is hosting a national Chicano-Latino conference on immigration and related issues here October 28-30.

ICIPP Coordinator Mario Compeán, attacked the administration's proposal to bar entry to the families of undocumented workers who have been in the United States less than seven years. He also pointed out that "Mr. Carter still wants to sanction rigid enforcement of [immigration] laws and increase the number of [U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service] agents along the border between Mexico and the United States."

In a statement released at the press conference, Andrés González of the University of Texas Student Coalition Against Racism pointed

out that "for those who arrived in the country before January 1, 1977, what the president has proposed is to codify under law a second-class status without the same rights as other people."

"And what of the other working people who have arrived since January 1?" González asked. "Will they be rounded up and deported?"

"We fail to see anything humane in the Carter-Castillo 'amnesty' plan. A humane policy would be rights for everybody. Undocumented workers—the most hard-working and exploited sector of our society—have earned it."

González pledged that SCAR will redouble its efforts to mobilize participation in the October conference, "from Miami to Seattle, from San Diego to Boston."

Also appearing at the news conference were Rev. Manuel Martínez, executive director of PADRES, a church group; David Plylar, a board member of the American Civil Liberties Union; and a representative of

the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund.

For more information about the October conference, write: ICIPP, 1927 West Commerce Street, San Antonio, Texas 78807.



Militant/Nelson Blackstock
MARIO COMPEAN

Skyhorse, Mohawk win national support

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—The National Council of Churches has issued a nationwide appeal on behalf of Paul Skyhorse and Richard Mohawk, two American Indian Movement activists being tried for murder here.

In a large national mailing, Lucius Walker, associate general secretary of the council, brands the charges a frame-up and appeals for financial support to the defense.

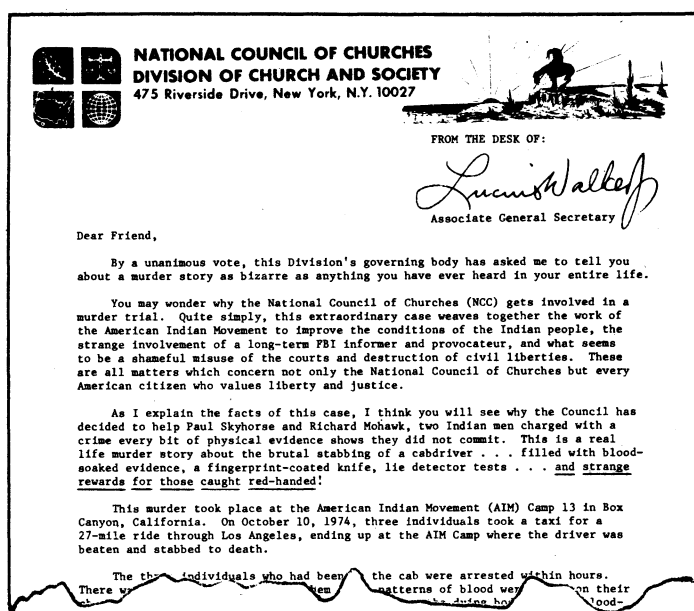
His letter notes that the decision of his governing board to endorse the case was unanimous.

He states that after examining the facts, the board decided that "we cannot stand by and allow this injustice to continue without trying to help."

He continues: "This is why I am writing to you today. Not only is two men's freedom at stake, but their work and their hopes are on trial—as well as the work of Indian organizers and the hopes of freedom and justice for Native Americans."

In taking this step, the National Council of Churches joins a growing number of groups and individuals who are registering their support for Skyhorse and Mohawk. One indication of this is that each day supporters of the defense fill the spectators' section of the courtroom. Invariably they include people who have previously experienced and fought political and racist frame-ups.

Two such recent visitors at the trial were Philip Allen and John Randolph.



BACKING SKYHORSE AND MOHAWK: National Council of Churches, Philip Allen (top), and John Randolph (below).

Allen is the Black Los Angeles youth now facing a long prison term after being framed in the death of a cop. Randolph, a screen and television actor, has a record of fighting political frame-ups going back to the McCarthy era of the 1950s.

In an interview Allen said, "This is the first time I'm on the outside looking in on a trial. I know the feeling of helplessness and frustration and what it means to know you have support—how important it is to know you're not alone. It gives the defendants a lot of strength to continue the

fight. Without support, the trial would be just a formality."

John Randolph told the *Militant* that on the basis of his activity in defense of the Rosenbergs and many others, he quickly "smelt the frame-up" when he heard the facts of this case. He said he was convinced Skyhorse and Mohawk are on trial because of their political activity and that FBI informants are "deeply involved."

Reacting with indignation, he described the biased conduct of presiding Judge Floyd Dodson as "unbelievable."



Militant/Harry Ring

"We have to fight to keep these men from spending their lives in jail," Randolph said. "This is the most outlandish frame-up I have ever seen."

Continuing testimony at the trial more than confirms Randolph's estimate.

For two days, Thomas Odle, a Ventura County deputy sheriff was on the stand identifying seventy-one pieces of evidence gathered at the scene of the 1974 murder of cabdriver George Aird.

Under cross-examination by defense attorney Dianne Orr, Odle conceded that not a single one of these in any way incriminated Paul Skyhorse or Richard Mohawk.

Questioned about the clothing worn the night of the murder by Marvin Redshirt, Odle said there appeared to be blood on his jacket, pants, and t-shirt. He said there also appeared to be blood on the boots of Redshirt's wife, Holly Broussard.

Originally charged with the murder, Redshirt and Broussard were given their freedom in return for unsubstantiated testimony that Skyhorse and Mohawk were the killers.

Tax-deductible contributions to aid the defense may be sent to the Skyhorse-Mohawk Defense Fund of the National Council of Churches, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, New York 10027.

Contributions may also be sent directly to the Skyhorse-Mohawk Defense, Box 30036, Terminal Annex, Los Angeles, California 90030.

Israel's 'peace' plan: blueprint for war

By David Frankel

WASHINGTON—Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin arrived here July 18 with what Israeli officials described as "a comprehensive plan for settlement in the Mideast"—a secret blueprint for "real peace."

But when Begin presented his proposals at a news conference the following day, his "great outline" turned out to be merely a rehash of past Israeli positions. He ruled out any participation by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in any negotiations. In separate statements, Begin also reaffirmed his opposition to Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank and from parts of the Golan Heights and the Sinai Peninsula—all occupied during the 1967 Mideast war.



MENACHEM BEGIN

Even the pro-Zionist editors of the *New York Times* admitted July 22 that "Mr. Begin brought with him a 'peace plan' that was long on procedure and short on substance."

Mahmoud Labadi of the PLO denounced Begin's hardline stand, saying: "This is not a peace plan but a war plan, and we reject it from A to Z because it negates the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and nationhood."

The Arab regimes voiced similar objections. Radio Cairo said that the Begin plan "ignores the basic rights of the Palestinian people." Saudi Arabian

newspapers warned of "inevitable war" if Carter okayed the plan.

In contrast, President Carter gave warm approval to Begin's rehash of old policy statements. "I don't think the meetings with him could have been any better," Carter said, "and I believe that we have laid the groundwork now, barring some unforeseen difficulty, that will lead to the Geneva conference in October."

Until the eve of the Carter-Begin meetings, commentators in the capitalist media were recalling statements by Carter about the need for a Palestinian homeland. They speculated on the possibility of a confrontation between Carter and Begin on this issue. The whole strategy of the Egyptian, Syrian, Jordanian, and Saudi regimes has been to rely on the prospect of U.S. pressure for Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories.

However, as the latest events showed once again, while Carter is willing to throw a few verbal bones in the direction of the capitalist Arab regimes, any real pressure on Washington's Israeli client state is highly unlikely.

In fact, even a total cutoff of American arms would not become a major problem for the Zionist military machine for at least a year. A recent report in the *Jerusalem Post* said that enough military supplies are now stockpiled in Israel to sustain a cutoff of twelve to eighteen months without harmful effects.

Meanwhile, "in a tangible gesture of support for Begin, the Carter administration is preparing to announce a new arms package for Israel costing several hundred million dollars," Don Oberdorfer reported in the July 21 *Washington Post*. "Attack helicopters, high speed hydrofoil patrol boats and about \$100 million U.S. financial aid to an Israeli domestic tank factory are included, informed sources said."

Also being considered is a sale of between 90 and 150 F-16 fighter planes.

Columnists Rowland Evans and

Begin visit sparks protests



Militant/David Frankel

More than 400 chanting pickets were on hand outside of the White House July 19 (above) as Israel's terrorist Prime Minister Menachem Begin opened two days of meetings with President Carter.

Sponsored by the Organization of Arab Students, the protest was also built by the Iranian Students Association, All-African People's Revolutionary Party, Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, Kenyan and Eritrean students, and numerous other groups.

About 200 picketed Begin in New York two days later outside an Israel Bonds dinner. The picket was called by the Palestine Solidarity Committee and supported by the YSA and SWP, Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Palestine Red Crescent Society, Columbia University Arab Student Club, *Guardian* newspaper, Youth Against War and Fascism, and others.

The following day twenty pickets protested outside the United Nations building during Begin's appearance there.

Robert Novak reported in a July 15 article—prior to the latest arms package—that "high defense officials in Tel Aviv told the respected *Jerusalem Post* two weeks ago that since the Yom Kippur war the Israeli air force has reached the size of the French and British air forces combined. Its armored strength on the ground, they said, is half that of the entire armored strength of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (an understatement, in the view of some U.S. officials)."

While the Arab regimes are waiting for Carter to get their land back for them, Israeli settlers are continuing their de facto annexation of the occupied territories. According to an article by Dial Torgerson in the July 13 *Washington Post*, a total of sixteen new Zionist settlements are being planned in the West Bank area. These include five new towns, to be built over the next four years, which will have a total population of 150,000 when completed.

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Chinese Stalinists bring back Teng

By Les Evans

From Intercontinental Press

The official rehabilitation of Teng Hsiao-p'ing and his emergence as one of the three top leaders of the People's Republic of China is another blow to the cult of Mao Tsetung, whose last political act was to drive Teng from office in disgrace. Whatever else it may portend for China's future, the "reversal of the verdict" on Teng spells the end of Mao's personal faction. The end by this time is pretty much symbolic anyway, since Mao's leading lieutenants, including his widow, Chiang Ch'ing, have been imprisoned without

ist" were given a special validation because his purge as an "unrepentant capitalist-roader" was precipitated by the mass antigovernment demonstrations in Peking's Tien An Men Square in April 1976. He came to be looked on as sharing a common lot with the workers and students who were arrested by government forces at Tien An Men. His return to office has been regarded by many among the masses as a test of the government's sincerity in promising reforms that will put an end to the worst abuses of the Mao era.

Teng, of course, is a lifelong Stalinist bureaucrat. His reputation for liberal-



Teng Hsiao-p'ing (left) and Hua Kuo-feng

trial since last October, a few weeks after the chairman's death.

On April 7, 1976, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party voted unanimously "to dismiss Teng Hsiao-p'ing from all posts both inside and outside the Party" (*Peking Review*, April 9, 1976). Little more than a year later, on July 22, 1977, the same Central Committee, minus Mao and his closest associates, voted just as unanimously to adopt a "resolution restoring Comrade Teng Hsiao-p'ing to his posts." The posts to which the purged bureaucrat has been restored include membership on the Central Committee and its elite Politburo Standing Committee, a party vice-chairmanship, the vice-premiership of the government, and the position of chief of staff of the army.

Massive crowds thronged the streets of Peking after the announcement July 22, in a holiday mood. While it was clear that the demonstrations in support of the Central Committee's decision were organized by the bureaucracy, Western reporters were unanimous in describing the crowds as spontaneously jubilant.

Teng's popularity is not difficult to explain. Having been twice purged by Mao—once in 1966 and again in 1976—he is widely known as a personal enemy of the late chairman. Having been out of government for most of the last decade, he is not held responsible for the extreme economic austerity program or the draconian political and cultural repression of Mao's last years.

Teng had also associated himself with the call for economic modernization of China put forward by the late premier Chou En-lai. The masses clearly hoped that efforts to spur economic progress would lead to an improvement in their standard of living and an end to Mao's decade-long wage freeze. Mao opposed the plans on the grounds that they would undercut campaigns for bureaucratic discipline and ideological conformity.

Teng's credentials as an "opposition-

ism is only relative. He is more of a machine politician and administrator than Mao, and as such is more concerned with efficiency. Mao at the end, like Stalin in his last years, used his total control of the apparatus to impose more and more bizarre schemes on the economy and society, leading to severe economic setbacks and the virtual disappearance of cultural life. Teng, without loosening the hold of the bureaucracy on the levers of power, can be expected to do away with some of the more peculiar innovations of the late autocrat.

But while Teng's loyalty to the bureaucracy is not in question, his public rehabilitation and restoration to top party and government positions has an unsettling effect on the bureaucracy's authority. It weakens the usefulness of Mao's reputation. It undermines the credibility of officials who could vote unanimously to brand Teng a "freak," and then, a year later, virtually turn the reins of government over to him. This certainly was one of the reasons for the long delay in making the public announcement, which had been rumored in Peking since last October. In January, at the time of the anniversary of Chou En-lai's death, hundreds of wall posters were put up in Peking demanding Teng's immediate return to office. Many of these posters linked this demand with calls for free speech and the right to elect and recall leaders. All of this adds up to a weak government that has yet to fully consolidate its authority.

It was noteworthy that the Central Committee made no effort to explain its new decision on Teng. It chose deliberately not to recall or explain what was said about Teng when Mao was still alive. This obviously remained a sore point.

One of the problems with the "big lie" technique is that when they have to make a retraction, who is going to believe anything else they have to say?

World news notes

Police crush Spanish prison revolt

Firing smoke grenades and rubber bullets, 1,000 Spanish riot police stormed Carabanchel prison in Madrid on July 21, ending a four-day rebellion by common prisoners demanding a general pardon. According to a report in the July 21 *Le Monde*, one inmate was killed and thirty others wounded.

The revolt began July 18 when 350 prisoners climbed to the roof of the building and demanded to meet with Premier Adolfo Suárez or other government officials. Police sealed off the area and chased reporters and photographers away at gunpoint.

By July 21, the original 350 prisoners had swelled to 800. Solidarity strikes and rooftop demonstrations broke out at many other Spanish prisons. As many as 2,500 prisoners took part.

200,000 march against nukes in Spain

Two hundred thousand persons turned out for a demonstration against nuclear power held July 14 in Bilbao, Spain. Bilbao is in the Basque country, an oppressed nation inside the Spanish state.

The protest was called by neighborhood associations throughout Greater Bilbao. It was called to protest the plan to transform the Basque coast into a nuclear zone, and specifically, to halt construction of the Iberduero nuclear plant in a Bilbao suburb.

Iberduero is the electricity monopoly in Euskadi (the Basques' name for their homeland).

The protest, probably the world's largest antinuclear march to date, was studded with several thousand Basque flags. Marchers chanted "Let the people vote on nuclear plants!" "No nuclear plants in Euskadi!" "Better active today than radioactive tomorrow!"

Workers from Westinghouse, the main company involved in constructing the plant, marched in the demonstration.

Twelve South African Blacks convicted

Twelve Black activists were found guilty in a Johannesburg courtroom in early July on charges of being involved in "terrorist" activities against the white minority regime. The verdict was handed down despite disclosure by the prosecution's chief witness that he had been tortured into giving false testimony.

"The expectation is for long sentences," according to a report by Martin Garbus, who observed the trial for the International League for Human Rights and the American section of PEN, the international writers association.

The twelve were alleged to have participated in sabotaging railway installations, bringing arms and explosives into the country, and having recruited young Blacks to undergo military training abroad. All were charged with being members of the outlawed African National Congress (ANC), Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation, the ANC's military wing), or the South African Communist Party.

Nationwide general strike rocks Peru

Peruvian police and troops opened fire on demonstrators in Lima July 19, as a nationwide general strike swept the country in protest of increases in the price of basic items of up to 50 percent.

Officials acknowledged that government forces killed at least six persons, but eyewitness accounts suggest that the number of dead was considerably higher.

The following day, more than 300 trade-union leaders were arrested in a sweep through industrial sections of the city and a raid on the headquarters of the General Confederation of Peruvian Workers.

The strike was the high point of a wave of protests that began in mid-June. On June 10, Gen. Morales Bermúdez had announced a series of austerity measures, including price hikes for food, gasoline (50%), and transit fares (30%). The price increases were announced under sharp pressure from the International Monetary Fund.

Sri Lanka election

In the July 21 general elections in Sri Lanka, the country's 6.5 million voters cast their ballots overwhelmingly against the authoritarian government of Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike. While Bandaranaike retained her own seat, her Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) won only eight, compared to the eighty-five that it held in the outgoing Parliament.

The main beneficiary of the massive disillusionment with Bandaranaike's regime was the island's other major bourgeois party, the United National Party (UNP), led by J.R. Jayewardene. The UNP won a large majority, taking 140 seats in the 168-seat Parliament.

The United Left Front, a popular-front electoral bloc composed of the Communist Party, the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP—Ceylon Equal Society Party), and the bourgeois People's Democratic Party contested 134 seats but did not win a single one. The leaders of all three parties had been badly tainted by their earlier participation in Bandaranaike's coalition regime and were identified with her policies.

The elections marked the growing strength of the Tamil separatist movement. The Tamils, who number about 20 percent of the population, are an oppressed nationality that lives for the most part in the northern and eastern districts of the country. The Tamil United Liberation Front, a bloc of the Federal Party and the Tamil Congress, specifically campaigned on the demand for the establishment of an "independent sovereign socialist Tamil State." The TULF won 18 of the 24 seats that it contested, making it the largest opposition party in Parliament.

In Our Opinion

Carter's answer to women & Blacks

"Shape up or ship out."

That is Jimmy Carter's defiant answer to women and Blacks who have recently criticized the racist, sexist policies of his administration.

On July 15, women appointees in the Carter administration met to express outrage at the president's callous plan to deny Medicaid funds for abortions. Even his two female cabinet members, Patricia Harris and Juanita Kreps, assailed the proposal.

A week later, Carter called Harris, Kreps, and his other critics to order on the abortion issue. "He wants an end to dissension within the Administration," reported the July 25 *New York Post*. "He told the Cabinet that he expected his appointees to close ranks and support his position."

Shortly thereafter, Carter spurned the protests of Urban League head Vernon Jordan. Jordan had criticized the administration's anti-abortion policies and its failure to provide jobs or meet any of the other promises made to Black people during Carter's election campaign.

Carter shot back that he had "no apologies to make" for his record. He let it be known that "statements that argue to the contrary are damaging to the hopes and aspirations of those poor people."

"It takes times to change the trends of history," the president of the rich explained.

But in his first six months in office, Carter has wasted precious little time in changing things *for the better* for the banks, the energy trusts, and the bosses. Cutbacks in food stamps. Billions for bombs. Higher prices for gas. No relief for the unemployed. No abortion rights for the poor.

Particularly ominous is the speed at which Carter, Congress, and the Supreme Court have moved to condemn Black and other working-class women to illegal, butcher abortions.

As we go to press, the fate of some 300,000 women dependent on Medicaid for abortions hangs in the balance.

The 1976 Hyde amendment, which would take away these Medicaid funds, will soon go into effect, unless a new court injunction is won to block its implementation.

Meanwhile, the Senate and House have both passed new versions of the Hyde amendment. The senators graced the language of their anti-abortion bill with a clause allowing abortions where "medically necessary." But despite the claims of some congressional liberals, this wording does not lessen the enormity of this blow to women's rights.

Now the Democratic and Republican politicians are engaged in a cynical debate over which version to accept—that is, just how many women they will banish to back-alley abortions.

No version of the Hyde amendment is acceptable for the women of this country. Abortion rights supporters must signal loud and clear that they will defend the right to choose for *all* women.

No aid to Israel

Deeds speak louder than words. Israeli Prime Minister Menahem Begin's July 26 deed, giving official sanction to three new Zionist settlements on the occupied West Bank of the Jordan River, speak louder than any of his rhetoric about a new Middle East "peace" plan (see article on page 8).

Opposition to Zionist settlements has been a central demand of the Palestinian people on the West Bank ever since the area was seized by Israel during the 1967 Mideast war. Protests against the ultrarightist settlers at Camp Kadum—one of the three newly approved settlements—helped spark a wave of Palestinian demonstrations on the West Bank last year.

Under the supposedly more moderate Labor government that Begin unseated this spring, more than ninety such Zionist settlements had been set up. An estimated 100,000 people had settled on conquered land around Jerusalem.

The truth is that the Israeli state is *based* on driving the Palestinian people from their homeland.

There is only one realistic Mideast peace plan. That is the replacement of the expansionist Israeli state by a democratic and secular Palestine where Jews and Palestinians can live as equals. We in this country can help make this peace plan a reality by demanding an end to all U.S. military and economic aid to Israel.

Letters

On revolutionary poetry

I have been distributing poetry broadsides on the streets of Boston for nearly four years, and would like to comment on Adolfo Estava's statement in the *Militant* July 15 that "there has never been any such thing as 'revolutionary' poetry." Isn't that going a bit too far?

Of course, I do not wish to set up my own poetry as an example; however, I would like to point out that the now "lost" era of folk poetry did possess, at the very least, the potential of being the voice of the revolution. Surely it has always insisted on the redress of grievances. Also, as the voice of the people, such poetry exists outside of criticism. And anyway I look at it, that is revolutionary.

The revolution is awaiting the development of democratic tools for itself. I do believe that a modern version of traditional folk-song-poetry is possible and cannot envision any revolution worthy of its name without such poetry.

*Eso-Anton Benjamine
Newton, Massachusetts*

Keep in touch

I would be most appreciative if you could assist me in keeping in touch with the many *Militant* readers with whom I have corresponded over the years. A brief notice like this would be really helpful:

"Rarihokwats, founder of *Akwesasne Notes* and its editor for the past nine years, is no longer with the paper, and the traveling communications group, White Roots of Peace, has been reorganized to include native people of Guatemala and New Mexico under a new name, Four Arrows. Persons interested in sponsorship of the Four Arrows program in their community or in contacting Rarihokwats can write: Route 1, Box 1, Santa Fe, New Mexico 87501."

*Rarihokwats
Santa Fe, New Mexico*

Jim Crow press corps

While many supporters of Black rights think that the Democratic Party can and should be reformed to end racist discrimination, a recent example here in Texas testifies to the futility of such an approach.

On July 15 the overwhelming Democratic majority of the Texas House of Representatives refused to pass a simple resolution offered by Rep. Clay Smothers, a Black legislator from Dallas, urging the integration of the Austin capitol press corps. The vote was forty-seven to forty-four, with thirty-seven members voting "present" to the charade.

This incident was not only an outrageous insult to Black and Chicano people (as well as an example of the segregationist practices of the mass media), but it was also a scathing indictment of the racist Democratic Party. It gave the lie to those Democrats who say their party is for Blacks and Chicanos. And it gave the lie to "human rights" Carter, who won't even stop racism in his own house.

It was also a grim preview of what the Democrats and Republicans hope to accomplish in their war against the workers of this country. And those Black and Chicano Democrats only give cynical cover for such policies.

What is needed are massive mobilizations of the oppressed communities themselves, and in *opposition* to the Democrats and their Jim Crow dreams.

*John R. Cannon
San Antonio, Texas*

Detroit city workers

Several points were left out of my article on the Detroit city workers' strike that appeared in the July 29 issue of the *Militant*.

In particular, I would like to comment further on the role of Democratic Mayor Coleman Young.

Four years ago when Young was elected Detroit's first Black mayor, he pledged that "no city worker would have to strike for better wages and fringe benefits." Young was endorsed by virtually every municipal employees union here, including AFSCME Council 77. Council 77 has also promised Young its endorsement this year.

But the fruits of this support were revealed during the July 6 one-day strike by AFSCME when union leaders reminded Young of their support for him and his four-year-old promise. Young curtly told them, "I am working on the other side of the bargaining table."

A chorus of Democratic and Republican party politicians and mayoral candidates have joined Young in denouncing AFSCME's demands and the public "inconvenience" caused by the one-day strike.

The only mayoral candidate to side with the strikers was Socialist Workers Party candidate Trudy Hawkins.

Hawkins urged all Detroiters to support the strikers. The fact that city workers had to strike to maintain their living standards is the fault of city hall and Mayor Young, she said. Young is trying to force city workers to shoulder the burden of Detroit's financial crisis.

"Young's drive against municipal workers shows that we can't rely on the Democrats any more than the Republicans to defend our interests," she said. "We need our own party, a labor party, based on the trade unions. A vote for me in this election is a vote for that perspective."

*Steve Beumer
Detroit, Michigan*

Racist medical establishment

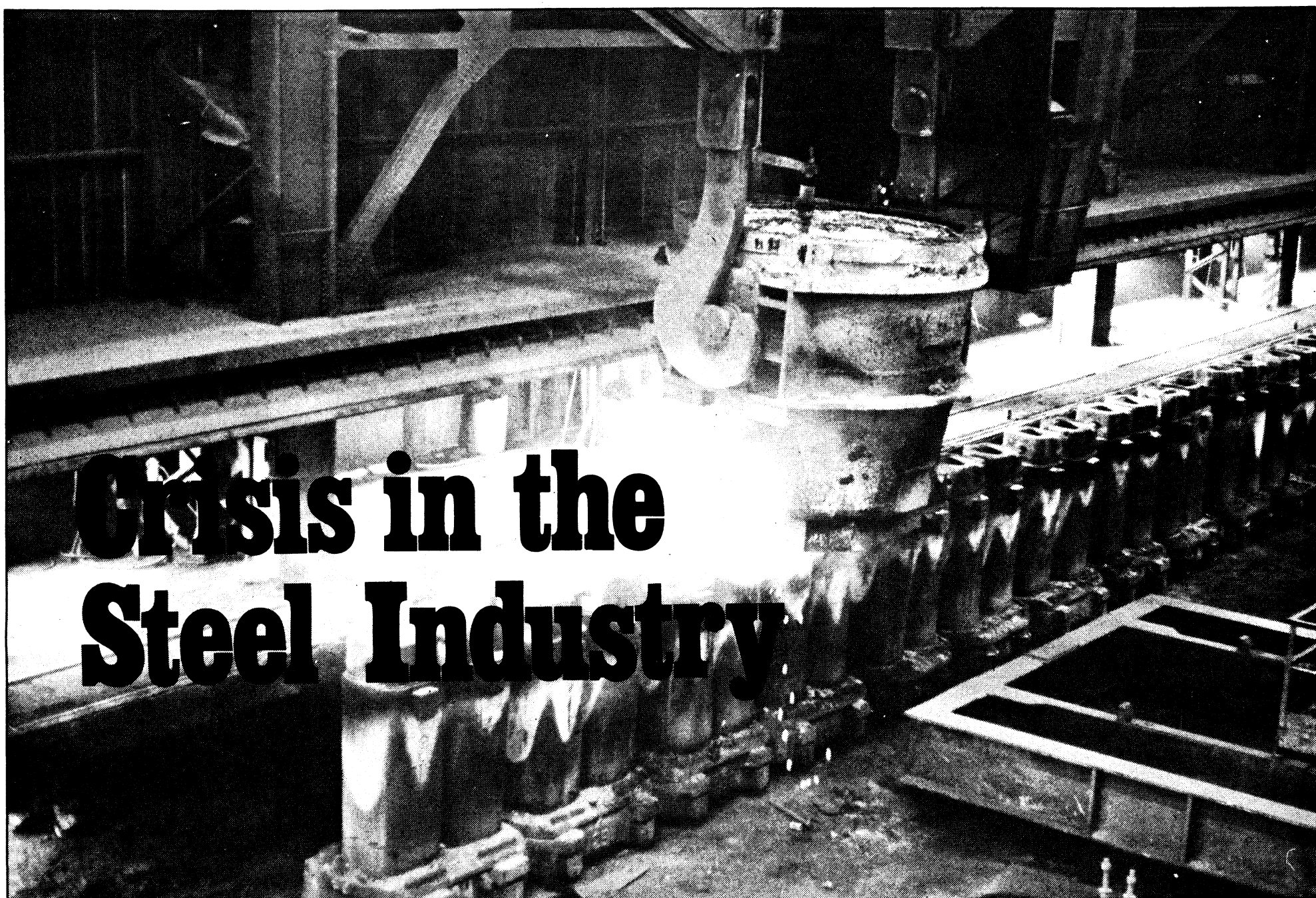
In an article in the July 14, 1977, *New England Journal of Medicine*, Dr. Lawrence Egbert and Ilene Rothman have published the results of a study on the relationship of race and economic status of surgical patients to the likelihood of their being treated by a surgeon in training rather than by a staff surgeon.

The study was done at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, where recent medical school graduates, residents, are being trained in surgical technique by medical school professors, staff surgeons. It was assumed that the residents were therefore less skilled than staff surgeons.

Of patients paying directly or with commercial insurance, 34 percent of Black patients and 7 percent of white patients were operated on by resident surgeons. Of patients entering the emergency room and being surgerized on an emergency basis, 52 percent of Blacks and 24 percent of whites were treated by a resident surgeon.

Continued on page 23

International **socialist** review



The Labor Rebellion of 1877



THE MONTH IN REVIEW

Steel Imports and Jobs

(This issue's column, introducing "Crisis in the Steel Industry," by Dick Roberts, was written by guest contributor Andy Rose.)

Are imports of foreign-made goods taking jobs away from American workers?

"Crisis in the Steel Industry," the featured article in this month's *International Socialist Review*, goes right to the heart of this urgent economic and political question.

The fight against imports has become a rallying cry for the American labor officialdom. Last April the garment and textile workers unions went so far as to organize demonstrations and work stoppages demanding that President Carter curb imports more harshly.

In last February's election in the United Steelworkers of America, administration candidate Lloyd McBride staunchly defended the union officialdom's alliance with the steel companies to press for import quotas and restrictive tariffs. He said the fight against imports justifies the Experimental Negotiating Agreement, which gives up the right of steelworkers to strike. The danger of strikes encourages steel users to look to foreign companies for a steady supply, McBride claimed.

Opposition candidate Ed Sadlowski—who campaigned for union democracy and militancy—opposed the no-strike deal and condemned the anti-import drive as "the bosses' game."

As the *ISR* goes to press, the significance of these issues has been underlined by three events:

- The American Iron and Steel Institute announced that steel imports in May had risen to the highest level since December 1974, accounting for more than 18 percent of the U.S. market that month.

- U.S. Steel Corporation announced new price increases of 6 to 7 percent. Bethlehem Steel promptly followed suit. The companies blamed the increases on higher labor costs under their new contracts with the USWA.

- At almost exactly the same time, U.S. Steel laid off 345 workers and put another 2,100 of 8,000 employees on short workweeks at South Works in Chicago because of a lack of business.

How do these changes in prices, profits, imports, and jobs fit together? That is what Dick Roberts analyzes in "Crisis in the Steel Industry." His presentation is necessarily detailed, providing facts that irrefutably

demonstrate the following key points:

1. The crisis is worldwide. On a global scale, steel companies cannot find markets for as much steel as they are able to produce. It is a crisis of *overproduction*. Thus, steelworkers face plant closings and layoffs not only in the United States but also in Western Europe and Japan.

In each country, the owners of the steel industry are trying to protect their own domestic markets, grab as big a share as they can of other markets around the world, and hold down wages and other costs. Their underlying purpose is always the same—to rake in the highest possible profits.

Competition—among the various companies within each country, and among the steel industries in different countries—is the driving force behind the crisis in steel.

2. To cover up for their own antilabor schemes, the bosses blame unemployment on imports. They try to convince U.S. steelworkers that the boss is a friend and foreign steelworkers are the enemy.

3. The real reason for the loss of jobs in steel is the profit drive of the employers. The bosses are always pushing to cut labor costs through *speedup*, which jeopardizes workers' health and safety, and through *labor-saving technology*, which wipes out thousands of jobs. And, of course, by directly trying to hold wages down.

Despite all the steel companies' complaints about rising wages, Roberts shows that from 1965 to 1973 (two peak years for steel production), the real labor costs of U.S. steel manufacturers actually *declined*.

This employer drive for higher profits through higher productivity is also the reason for the world crisis of overproduction. For the savings from new technology to be realized, a *bigger scale* of production is required. Roberts explains: "As each competing firm tries to overcome its profit problems through ever more advanced technology and the accompanying reduction of the work force, it moves all the more rapidly toward saturating world markets with the more abundant goods its advanced technology can produce."

4. In the struggle of competing capitals, the interests of the workers and bosses are always opposed, never the same. Roberts notes that the steel companies never promise to *add jobs* if foreign steel is kept out of the U.S. market. They have just the opposite in mind—to get more steel tonnage out of fewer workers. And no matter how high their profits climb, they plan to keep every penny themselves and keep wages as low as they can.

5. McBride and the rest of the steel-union bureaucrats are more concerned with safeguarding the profits of the companies than the interests of the workers. They campaign for protectionism, pretending import curbs will save jobs, and at the same time campaign for higher productivity, which eliminates jobs!

McBride defends the steel price hikes, which erode the purchasing power of

steelworkers and all other workers.

The union bureaucrats really have a sweetheart deal with the steel bosses, based on maintaining a few relative privileges for older white workers. The new basic steel contract, for example, grants some minimal protection against layoffs to high-seniority workers (the least likely to be laid off), while it takes benefits away from younger workers.

The aim of the companies is to divide the older workers from the younger, whites from Blacks, men from women, and get the relatively privileged minority of workers to support the bureaucracy's procompany policies. Roberts provides figures to show how profitable this discriminatory scheme is for the employers, while it divides and weakens the labor movement.

6. Protectionism may seem to save jobs in the short run, but it leaves the workers even worse off in the long run.

First, import restrictions are directly inflationary. They allow U.S. firms to charge higher prices than they could if faced with foreign competition.

Second, if U.S. capitalists succeed in erecting protective barriers around the U.S. market, the capitalists of other countries will retaliate against U.S. exports. Just think how many products U.S. workers make—with steel in them!—that are destined for export. A protectionist trade war would rapidly lead to a new worldwide depression, throwing untold millions out of work.

* * *

Under capitalism—the system of production for private profit—*competition* nationally and internationally is an iron law. Even in highly monopolized industries such as steel, competition is not abolished. It is only modified. And internationally, the competition among U.S., Japanese, and West European steel companies is sharper than ever.

Today Japanese steel has a competitive edge because it is technologically more advanced. U.S. steelmakers can improve their competitive position only by attacking wages and intensifying the speedup-productivity drive. *There is no other way*. And that is exactly what they are proceeding to do, at the same time that they cry for protection against "unfair" imports. The two go hand in hand.

For steelworkers to tie their fate to the competitive fortunes of the employers is like chaining themselves to a sinking ship. Jobs and wages can be protected only in struggle *against* the employers and all their profiteering schemes—including protectionism, discrimination against women and minorities, and speedup.

In his campaign for president of the United Steelworkers, Ed Sadlowski declared that workers should benefit from technological advance and increased productivity through a shorter workweek at no reduction in pay. That demand, not the reactionary utopia of protectionism, shows the way forward for steelworkers.

CONTENTS

The Month
In Review

2

Crisis in the
Steel Industry

3

Mao Tsetung
and the 'Gang of
Four'

5

The Labor Rebellion
of 1877

6

Review—

Richard Wright's
'American Hunger'

12



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The *International Socialist Review* appears in the *Militant* that is published the first week of every month.

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By Dick Roberts

I. U.S. Recovery

The world capitalist steel industry is beset by its worst postwar crisis. For the United States, the present steel downturn has been sharp but not as devastating as the previous downturn in 1971, which reported steel industry unemployment rates in such steel towns as Lackawanna,

An introduction by Andy Rose to this article appears as this issue's "The Month in Review."

Pittsburgh, Gary, Buffalo, and Youngstown at 20 percent to 45 percent. Nevertheless, an analysis of the current steel crisis offers insights into the future of this industry as well as into the economic crisis as a whole. It is useful to begin this analysis with a brief overview of the U.S. economy itself.

The U.S. recovery is now in its third year. It remains shaky and inflationary, even though the U.S. economy has made the strongest comeback among the capitalist industrial powers.

But a closer look at the U.S. recovery reveals little strength—certainly not the momentum that the world capitalist leaders meeting in London last May hoped would guarantee that the capitalist world as a whole could continue on its two-year recovery course without fear of sinking back into a world depression like that of 1974-75.

Business Week magazine's broad index of industrial production in the United States stood at 138 as of its July 11, 1977, issue, compared with the lowest point in 1975 of 111. This index is 24.3 percent higher than its lowest depression level. But it is only 6.5 percent higher than one year ago. This indicates that the sharpest part of the recovery may already be in the past.

The recovery has been largely fueled by consumer spending, especially on cars. The long-awaited upturn in capital investments is still awaited. *Business Week's* figures show that retail sales are 11.9 percent higher than a year ago; rail freight traffic is 3.7 percent higher; electric power production is 5.6 percent higher. But raw steel production is 4.6 percent lower than last year.

The reluctance of capitalists to invest in new plants and equipment reflects the contradictory character of this upturn. Factory operations have climbed from 70 percent of capacity in the spring of 1975 to more than 80 percent today—a level that would "normally" lead to renewed capital spending. But prices are also accelerating. In May 1977, consumer prices rose at a 7.2 percent annual rate, making them 6.7 percent higher than a year earlier.

In the previous upturn—1972-73—a comparable situation produced almost a rush of capital spending to "beat" rising prices by carrying out investments before inflation reached "double-digit" levels. But the effect this year seems to be to frighten the ruling class into withholding investments. They fear that a new sharp inflationary upsurge would bring them to another catastrophic downturn.

Moreover, at some point rising prices are sure to curtail consumer spending. In the past year of recovery, unemployment has only slipped downwards half a percentage point, from 7.5 percent in April 1976 to 7.0 percent in April 1977. The unemployed include, as always, disproportionately greater numbers of women, Blacks and other oppressed nationalities, and youth. Among the unemployed *not* counted by Washington, victims of racial and sexual discrimination make up an even higher percentage. For these workers, the "recovery" is a bitter joke.

For employed workers, price and tax increases have eroded real wage levels for four of the past twelve months. The April 1977 average real weekly pay of all American workers was only 1.0 percent above the level in April 1976.

At the same time Washington is pursuing an all-but-admitted deflationary economic policy. Carter campaigned on the promise to provide badly needed jobs, funded by the government. In office, the Carter administration has not appropriated a single cent for any new government expenditures—except arms, which are being lifted to the highest levels ever. Promised "reforms" in welfare, food stamps, and health benefits are all specified to contain "no addition-

Dick Roberts, an associate editor of the ISR, is the author of Capitalism in Crisis (New York: Pathfinder, 1975).

Crisis in the Steel Industry

Basic oxygen furnace system at work in Wisconsin works

al funds." Moreover, the Federal Reserve Board is trying to limit credit and to spur interest rates upwards. And this was clearly the message Carter gave to the assembled government leaders in London.

"Despite such exultant early headlines here as 'summit goes for growth,' it was clear in advance that fear of refueling inflation had the U.S. and Germany adamant against going for more growth," *Wall Street Journal* correspondent Richard Janssen reported from London May 16. Janssen continued, "That left the weaker country leaders with only the suspenseful hope that somehow, moderation will pay off before they, or even their democratic systems, are toppled by public anxiety over unemployment."

These factors—uncertainty that inflation and higher interest rates might touch off a new and even worse collapse than in 1973-74, uncertainty about future energy prices and the prices of the petrochemical raw materials derived from oil, uncertainty about the political future of such important imperialist powers as Italy and France, and uncertainty about the international credit system, which is jeopardized by these and other factors—leave financial circles in the United States in a deeply pessimistic mood.

It is reflected in the daily movements of share prices on the stock exchanges. At one moment stock prices shoot upwards with the momentarily

prevailing mood that another year of profitable recovery might be achieved—especially if the Carter administration succeeds with the antilabor policies it has embarked on. The next moment stock prices collapse and the mood prevails that 1973 was only the prelude to worse times to come.

Meanwhile, investment plans are made and torn up with the same degree of conviction, or lack of it. U.S. capitalism confronts the prospect of further erosion of its profit rates with the utmost caution. Capital spending continues to lag, and consequently, the future of the recovery itself remains uncertain.

II. World Competition

The international lag in capital spending, following the inflationary spurt of 1973-74, accounts for the crisis in the steel industry. "The deep recession in world steel continues," a special report in the February 12, 1977, issue of the *London Economist* declares. "Orders are shrinking. Mills are working well below capacity. Cut-price imports are disrupting markets. More and more workers are being laid off. Several companies in Europe face bankruptcy—or a bail-out nationalisation."

Paul Lewis wrote in the May 23 *New York Times* that "the blast furnaces are growing cold

all over Europe and many may never warm up again.

"From Lancashire in Britain through Belgium and the French Lorraine to the German industrial heartland of the Ruhr, Europe's steelmakers are now experiencing their worst crisis in living memory."

Steel output in the nine member countries of the European Common Market has dropped from 39.3 million tons in the first quarter of 1974 to 32.4 million tons in the first three months of 1977. According to the *Economist*, in Belgium and West Germany roughly one in four steelworkers is on short time. In France, layoffs of 15,000 have been announced, with 50,000 workers on short time out of a total steelworker labor force of 155,000.

Complaining about the outmoded plant and equipment that plague many European steel firms, the *Economist* offhandedly remarked, "Because of a gradual switch to modern technology, a lot of jobs in the industry, perhaps 200,000 [in the European Economic Community], should go anyway."

In the United States, steel production and profits also dropped throughout 1975 and 1976. From December 1974 to December 1976 the American steel labor force shrank by 64,000, from 594,000 to 530,000 workers in basic steel production. The U.S. steel companies have just undertaken their second round of price increases in six months. They are in the forefront of U.S. industries clamoring for greater protection from foreign imports.

There is little doubt that the anxiety of European and U.S. steel trusts to protect their markets was one of the main reasons that the London summit could not even pretend to have made new steps toward "freer world trade" despite the clear lessons of the 1930s.

Japan is supposed to be the culprit. Japan increased its steel exports by 23 percent in 1976 as world steel production sagged. Even today, the *Economist* complains, "13 of the [Japanese steel] industry's 66 blastfurnaces are idle. Yet the industry is in the process of boosting its 130-m tonne capacity to about 140-m tonnes by the end of 1977. Most of the new investment decisions were taken before the downturn in the world steel markets, and in 1976 the industry invested more money than ever before—\$5 billion. Plans have been trimmed for 1977—but only to \$3.5 billion. It's a hard fact that Japan will be ready and poised, from late 1977, to meet any increase in steel consumption with the world's most sophisticated new mills."

In 1976 Japanese steel exports to the United States rose 37 percent over 1975 to a record 8 million tons or roughly 9.8 percent of total U.S. sales. Japanese steel now accounts for 60 percent of the steel imported into the United States. In some West Coast regions Japanese steel manufacturers have captured almost half the market.

The U.S. steel trust has embarked on a major propaganda offensive to blame imports for

unemployment. Typical is a full-page advertisement placed in the *Baltimore Sun* May 18 by Bethlehem Steel. It declared in inch-and-a-half-high letters: "Foreign steel hurts Sparrows Point and Baltimore." It raised the specter of "one trailer-truck load of steel coming into this country every single minute, day and night, 365 days a year." This flood of imports, Bethlehem said, "represents the loss of tens of thousands of jobs in American steel plants."

Bethlehem charged foreign steel producers with selling steel below cost "in order to maintain high operating rates and high employment in their countries." It failed to explain how any capitalist concern could operate on such an altruistic basis for any length of time. Nor did Bethlehem offer to follow suit in order to restore jobs for U.S. steelworkers. Instead, it posed in the baldest form the argument that U.S. workers must view foreign workers as the enemy: "Steelworkers are on layoff or working short hours in this community so that steelworkers in Europe and Japan can be kept busy."

This protectionist line is the linchpin of class collaboration in the steel industry. In the name of protecting "our" industry against imports, steel union bureaucrats in the United States have not only joined in lobbying campaigns for higher tariffs and import quotas. They have also signed away the right of steelworkers to strike, joined in campaigns to increase productivity (and thereby eliminate jobs), and defended the industry's monopolist pricing practices.

The long-term crisis of the capitalist system mixes the steel union officialdom deeper and deeper into this class-collaborationist swamp, because the only alternative—consistent struggle for the immediate interests of the workers—would lead to mass anticapitalist actions and thereby jeopardize the privileged positions of the bureaucrats. At this time the bureaucrats understand this more clearly than the union ranks, who are groping toward a program and policy to defend their jobs and wages.

Here an important example was set in the steel industry itself. Ed Sadlowski, who led the rank-and-file Steelworkers Fight Back slate against the entrenched steel union bureaucracy in the February 1977 union elections, squarely placed responsibility upon the bosses, not imports, for layoffs. "You can't attribute a Japanese worker for taking an American worker's job," Sadlowski told a rally in Cleveland last November. "That's the boss's game. He'd like you to think that."

"For every American worker whose job has been lost by foreign importation, five American workers' jobs have been lost because of BOF [Basic Oxygen Furnace] shops," Sadlowski said. The steel trusts in the United States have displaced many steelworkers in the process of replacing outmoded blast furnaces with the labor-saving BOFs.

Sadlowski also campaigned against the deportation of undocumented Mexican workers, an issue that is intimately related to the ruling-class

protectionist drive. "I don't believe we should have fences around this country," Sadlowski said. "We should be looking at ourselves as citizens of the world." Sadlowski polled 42 percent of the vote—gaining the support of 250,000 steelworkers.

These issues need to be discussed in the labor movement. What the workers most urgently need is an honest, factual explanation of the roots of the world crisis in steel and in the world capitalist economy generally, the role of international competition, and the deadly logic of protectionism and class collaboration. Protectionism, it must be clearly stated, is no answer to the crisis. The few jobs it *appears* to save in the short run are all the more threatened in the long run.

Protectionism is immediately inflationary. It allows domestic steel producers to raise prices faster than they would be able to if they had to compete with cheaper foreign products. The fact that there are tariffs against some steel imports into the United States today is one reason why the U.S. steel industry can raise prices as fast as it does. If protectionism spreads from industry to industry it will sharply exacerbate inflation as the U.S. corporations respond to the lessened competition of cheaper foreign goods with higher domestic prices.

At the same time, protectionism would strangle the needed export markets in other countries. Japan exports 28 percent of the steel it produces. If these markets were closed off the Japanese steel industry would collapse, tens of thousands of workers would lose their jobs, and the entire Japanese economy would go into a tailspin. It was precisely such chain-reaction protectionism in the 1930s that helped make the world depression so deep and so long lasting. U.S. steelworkers will not escape the catastrophe if protectionism carries the capitalist world back into the pits of depression.

Heightened international competition and the crises this causes are the inevitable outgrowth of capitalist monopoly and the capitalist profit drive itself. There is no way to protect jobs, wages, or safety standards while also protecting monopoly profits. The profit drive of monopoly thwarts workers at every stage. The pretense of the steel industry—that its aim is to protect workers and to provide jobs—is a mask for antilabor policies that it carries out on a day-in and day-out basis.

In 1971-72, steelworkers were confronted with the previous world steel crisis—and it is worth noting that only five or six years have elapsed since then. In an article entitled "The World Crisis in Steel" (*International Socialist Review*, January 1972, which was also published in *Critiques de L'Economie Politique*, No. 6, January-March 1972), I described the intense international monopoly competition that lay at the root of the crisis and presented a table that is here reproduced (Table 1). It compared the "Big Eight" U.S. steel trusts with those foreign trusts that had sales at least as high as the smallest of the "Big Eight" in the two years compared—1963 and 1970.

The article stated:

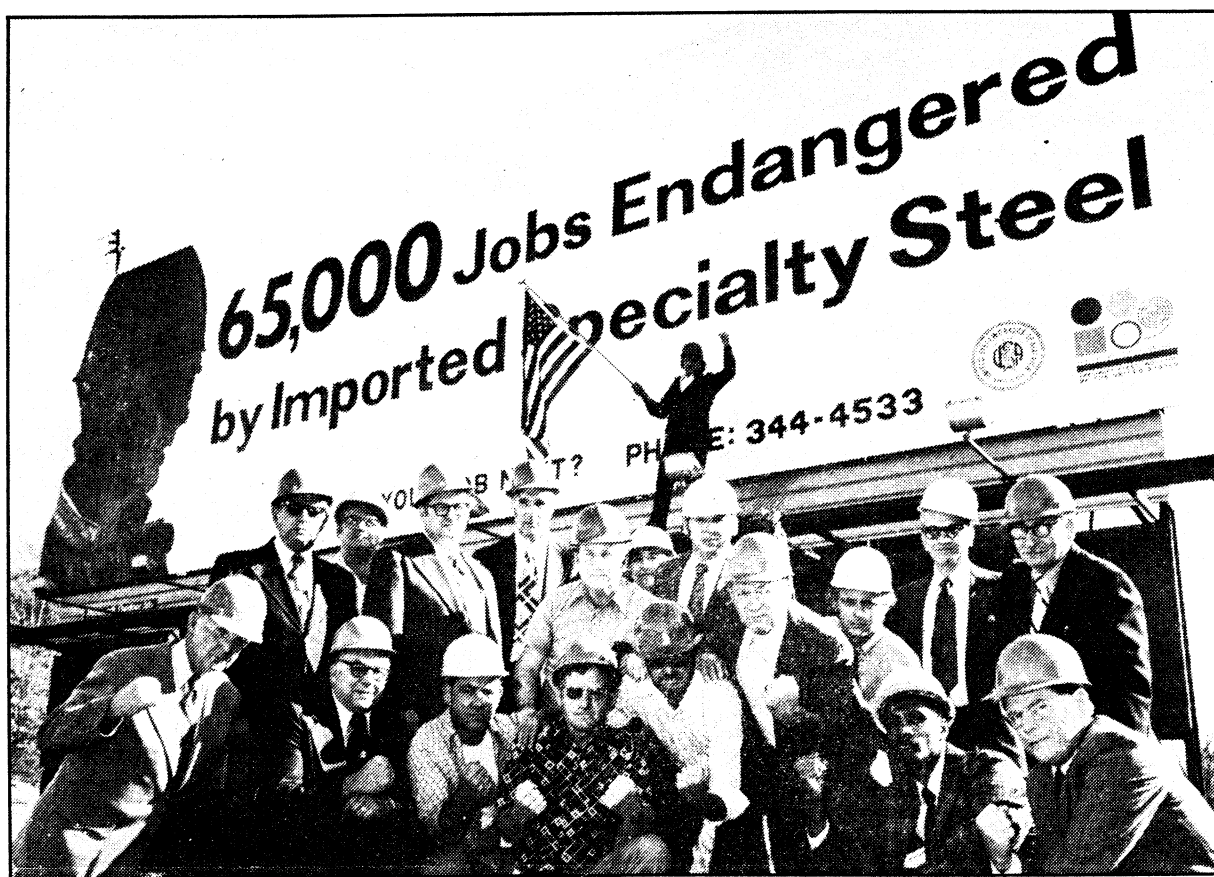
"The comparison is striking: In 1963, the 'Big Eight' U.S. steel companies outsold their 11 biggest competitors by over 20 percent—\$10.9 billion as compared to \$9 billion. But in 1970, the number of foreign companies, which could sell on the same scale as the 'Big Eight' had grown from 11 to 16, and these 16 outsold the U.S. firms by a margin of almost two to one—\$28.9 billion compared to \$15 billion.

"Three factors primarily account for the shift: (1) The relatively lower wage scales of European and Japanese workers. (2) The relatively more advanced technology of many European and Japanese firms which were largely rebuilt after the devastation of World War II. (For example, 80 percent of Japanese mills compared to 50 percent of U.S. mills have the basic-oxygen furnace.) (3) The merger of trusts in Japan and Europe, in many cases with the help of government subsidies or 'nationalization.'"

The figures for 1975 can now be compared (Table 2).

The continuation of the trends is striking. According to the *Economist*, since 1966, U.S. steel production has fallen by 13 percent. It stood at 106 million tons in 1975, the year of the third list. In that same year Japanese steel production reached 102.3 million tons, rising 114 percent

Continued on page ISR/8



Steelworkers union bureaucrats strike 'fighting' pose in front of anti-import poster. They blame foreign workers, not steel bosses, for job losses.

Mao Tsetung and the 'gang of four'



At Mao's funeral: Hua Kuo-feng (second from left) reads eulogy, flanked (left to right) by Defense Minister Yeh Chien-ying, Wang Hung-wen, Chang Ch'un-ch'iao, and Chiang Ch'ing

By Theodore Edwards

The events of the past year have sent shock waves through the currents that identified with the regime of the late Chinese ruler, Mao Tsetung. The most devastating blow was the fall of the "gang of four"—the Chinese government's term of opprobrium for Chiang Ch'ing, Chang Ch'un-ch'iao, Wang Hung-wen, and Yao Wen-yuan, former high government officials and members of the political bureau of the Chinese Communist Party.

Within weeks after Mao died in September 1976, their arrest was announced, and they were denounced throughout China as "fascists," "capitalist-roaders," "associates of Chiang Kai-shek," and "dog-turds."

It soon became evident that Premier Hua Kuo-feng and his allies were not only crushing Mao's closest collaborators but were using the occasion to cautiously revise policies associated with Mao's name.

This has placed Maoists in other countries in a quandary. Accustomed to basking in the reflected glory of the cult of Mao, they have also laid claim to the prestige stemming from association with a powerful "socialist" government. Now, they have to choose between slavish devotion to Mao's thought and subservience to his successors.

Some formations, such as the Communist Workers Organization of France, declared the new rulers to be counterrevolutionaries, holding the "gang of four" to be Mao's true heirs.

The October League in the United States, by contrast, parroted the charges against Chiang Ch'ing enthusiastically, just as it had echoed charges made by the "gang of four" against previous purge victims.

A third tack was taken by the Revolutionary Communist Party, the largest Maoist organization in this country. These cautious customers have yet to comment on the purge.

Debate Among Maoists

The pro-Maoist New York weekly *Guardian* attempted to find a middle ground. In a series of ten articles, Managing Editor Jack Smith rejected the official charges against the "gang of four." He argued that they were not fascist counterrevolutionaries, as the regime declared, but misguided "left dogmatists."

Two Canadian citizens living in China, Pat and Roger Howard, wrote three articles (appearing in the March 2, 9, and 16, 1977, issues of the *Guardian*) in an effort to persuade Smith and others of like mind to fully support the present Chinese leadership.

In making this effort, however, the Howards produced what amounted to a sweeping condemnation of the policies followed by the Chinese

government under Mao's direction.

The Howards' articles carry considerable authority. As the *Guardian* admitted in an introductory note, they "tend to reflect the Chinese government's position."

As residents of China, Pat and Roger Howard are privy to sources of information that are unavailable to the *Guardian*. For instance, they can buy the Chinese provincial press. While Peking newspapers and *Hsinhua*, the official news agency, are rigidly censored with foreign readers in mind, the provincial periodicals are allowed more latitude in publicizing factional conflicts, strikes, and economic difficulties. It is illegal in China to send provincial newspapers abroad.

The Howards defend the official position that the "gang of four" were an ultrarightist faction hell-bent on restoring capitalism. They depict Chiang Ch'ing and her cohorts as "the faction in power" in the Maoist camp, and attribute to them "fascist repression against those who had been labeled rightist and members of opposing factions" during and after the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution." They continue: "The methods included systematic public humiliation, kidnapping, torture and even murder." To this they add the "unnecessary detention of quite a number of party cadre."

The press, they report, was "carefully controlled." Later they add: "The censorship power exercised by Chiang Ch'ing rivaled that of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages."

"The most serious and far-reaching effect of the repression experienced or witnessed by the masses during the cultural revolution," they write, "was to create a fear of criticizing the excesses that occurred. . . ."

"In units where members of the 'gang of four' had direct control, a repressive atmosphere continued to exist until they were overthrown."

The economy was also in trouble in Mao's last years. "There have been serious problems with production in a number of areas since the cultural revolution," the Howards write, "and the situation has worsened in some areas in recent years."

Pat and Roger Howard charge the four with flaunting a "decadent bourgeois" life-style when "many ordinary people in China were finding it more and more difficult to buy food and other daily necessities. . . ."

Having devoted many pages of the *Guardian* to praise of "proletarian democracy" in Mao's China, Smith refused to accept the Howards' testimony. Their articles "raise more questions than they answer," he replied, asking incredulously, "Were things really this bad?"

But if Smith were correct, how to explain the mass jubilation which he admits greeted the downfall of the "gang of four"? Furthermore, if the government used frame-up methods to crush the "gang of four," doesn't that pose grave questions about the nature of the regime? The horns of the *Guardian's* dilemma are sharp.

The charges made by the Howards, in Smith's

view, throw into question the political rôle of Mao Tsetung. Preserving Mao's reputation is vitally important for the *Guardian*. Without it, their hopes to build a "new communist party" based on Mao's thought would go a-glimmering.

Smith writes: "Regarding their 'life-style,' now described as having been decadent and bourgeois . . . how was it possible for top Politburo members in China to flaunt themselves in the way now attributed to them without this being corrected? This presumably went on for years in the most vulgar and open fashion. If this was known virtually throughout China, why is it no one could stop them until Mao died? This is an uncomfortable question. . . ."

He asked: "Is it being indirectly implied that Chairman Mao and other important figures protected this group of alleged capitalists, perverts and counterrevolutionaries? . . ."

While ready to support the purge, Smith wants the new leaders to drop lines of criticism that can lead to challenging the sacrosanct figure of Mao.

Like Smith, the Howards also evade Mao's responsibility for the crimes of his government. They take refuge in the assertions of the new top leaders that Mao opposed the "gang of four," passing over Mao's role in raising them from political obscurity to the pinnacle of power.

As Smith notes, however, "Aside from a few quotations ascribed to Chairman Mao . . . neither the [Howards] nor the Chinese party has offered much in the way of seriously distinguishing between Chairman Mao's line . . . and the line of the 'gang of four' itself."

The 'Cultural Revolution'

Pat and Roger Howard correctly point out that current events in the People's Republic of China cannot be understood without assessing the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," Mao's name for the factional war he launched against the then head of state, Liu Shao-ch'i, in 1966. Mao is quoted by the Howards as saying that in this conflict "70% was positive and 30% negative."

The Howards give the lie to Mao's assertion, albeit unintentionally. The positive side, they assert, was the victory of Mao's "proletarian forces" over Liu Shao-ch'i. The latter's positions are left vague and undefined—just as they were during the "Cultural Revolution" itself, when he was barred from speaking in his own defense. What the Chinese people gained concretely from this outcome of the faction fight is left unstated.

On the "negative" side, the Howards describe bloody and unprincipled gang warfare—including armed struggle—as prevalent from the start of the "Cultural Revolution" to the fall of Chiang Ch'ing. Thus, they explode the Maoist depiction of the conflict as a clear-cut "two-line struggle" between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

Echoing official dogma, the Howards claim that some "factions" within Mao's forces turned out to be "counterrevolutionary"—including the

Continued on page ISR/11

Theodore Edwards has written and lectured widely on the Chinese revolution and the Mao regime.

By Paul Le Blanc

The labor explosion that shook the United States 100 years ago is often ignored or dismissed in a few sentences by conventional historians. As working people rediscover their history in the course of new battles, they will find inspiring examples and rich lessons in the massive uprising of railroad workers, their families, and their fellow workers in other trades in the summer of 1877.

Many pressures combined to produce the labor struggles of that year. The Civil War, ending in victory for the North, gave tremendous impetus to the growth of industrial capitalism. From then until the opening of the twentieth century, the capitalist industrial and financial order expanded and matured, establishing complete sway over the United States.

The great industrial expansion produced a labor shortage. Impoverished workers from Europe, in particular from Germany and Ireland, were lured by the promise of jobs at good pay. Many of these workers had experience in the labor and socialist movements of their native lands and were able to contribute to the growth of similar movements in the New World.

Under conditions of postwar prosperity, nationwide unions began to grow. By 1872, twenty-one such unions had a combined membership of 300,000. From 1865 to 1872, unionized workers won increases in some areas that placed their wages 40 percent higher than those of the unorganized.

The new power of labor was also felt in the agitation for the eight-hour workday, which compelled several state legislatures to pass eight-hour bills. This legislation invariably contained loopholes rendering it ineffective.

In 1873, however, an economic crisis gripped the country. Prices collapsed, thousands of businesses failed, and unemployment soared. Without benefit of unemployment insurance or welfare cushioning, the plight of the working class was grim.

Resistance stirred by the new situation was dealt with brutally by the police, company spies, and other capitalist agencies. Buffeted by economic pressures and official repression, trade unionism declined precipitously.

The Workingmen's Party

One of the most important expressions of resistance to the antilabor assault was the formation in 1876 of the Workingmen's Party of the United States (WPUS). Its founders included former leaders of the International Workingmen's Association (the First International), founded by Karl Marx, which had dissolved shortly before the founding meeting of the WPUS.

The WPUS was to play a key role in the events of 1877. Beginning with 3,000 adherents, its membership doubled within a year.

The program of the WPUS was greatly influenced by the ideas of Marx, but it also reflected the gradualist notions advocated by the German trade-union leader Ferdinand Lassalle, ideas Marx had denounced in his privately circulated *Critique of the Gotha Program*.

The WPUS program began with the assertion that "the emancipation of the working classes must be achieved by the working classes themselves, independent of all political parties of the propertied classes." It identified capitalism as being "at the bottom of servitude in all its forms, of all social misery, mental degradation, and political dependence." It called for a government that would transform the means of production into the "common property of the whole people," under workers' control, and operate it "for the good of the whole people."

The WPUS aimed to: carry on effective socialist education; engage in short-range efforts to win reforms such as union organizing and the fight for an eight-hour workday; and through such education and activism establish a mass base for future socialist election efforts that could sweep the capitalist parties out of office.

The majority of the members of the WPUS were German-speaking immigrants. There were also some Czech and French sections, a contin-

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The Labor Rebellion of 1877



1877: workers face gunfire from the

gent of Irish immigrants, and clusters of native-born Americans.

The WPUS began to sink roots in major industrial cities stretching from Chicago and St. Louis to the East Coast—fifty cities and towns in all.

The WPUS had several weekly newspapers in German and English. The leading English-language weekly was the *Labor Standard*, one of the finest labor papers this country has ever seen.

J.P. McDonnell, the editor, had been a leader in the Fenian movement for Ireland's independence; later, along with Karl Marx, he served on the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association.

In addition to regular coverage of strikes and other labor struggles, *Labor Standard* published the first English translation of selections from Marx's *Capital* by Otto Weydemeyer, a WPUS leader; a report on the condition of the European working class by Frederick Engels; a series on "Socialism and the Workers" by Friedrich A. Sorge, another Marxist WPUS leader who had been prominent in the First International; and many articles by Ira Steward and George McNeill, leaders of the movement for an eight-hour workday.

The *Labor Standard* took some advanced positions. On July 28, 1877, for example, it reported: "The United States are fighting the Indian on the Walla Walla reservation. As usual the capitalists have broken their treaty with the poor Indians. A formidable Indian in the person of Chief Joseph has arisen and will likely treat the soldiers of our rulers to some Sitting Bullism."

When whites on the West Coast agitated against the immigration of Chinese laborers, the newspaper argued that "as some of the men who have stood by the Standard have suffered in the past for the defense of some of us who came here—Irish, English and German cheap laborers—so shall we protest against making the Chinaman the victim of our hate" (August 11, 1878).

The Explosion

Of the rising lords of industry, the men who owned and controlled the railroads were among the most powerful. They led the way in assaults on labor. Between 1873 and 1877, railroad workers suffered wage cuts of between 30 and 40 percent. They also experienced irregular employment, working days of fifteen to eighteen hours, and harassment by ubiquitous company spies sniffing around for pronoun and antiemployer sentiments.

In June 1877, the Pennsylvania Railroad put a 10 percent pay cut into effect, confident that the workers would accept it as they had accepted previous cuts.

In response, a secret Trainmen's Union was organized in Pittsburgh, quickly spreading along the Pennsylvania line to the Baltimore & Ohio, the Erie, and the Atlantic and Great Western railroads. A massive strike was planned, but disunity and company spies foiled it.

On July 16, however, when the Baltimore & Ohio announced its own pay cut, "disturbing reports" came in from all points along the line—beginning in Martinsburg, West Virginia—about insubordination, disruptions, and violence. The bitterness that had accumulated among working people was finding an outlet, and their secret organizations came to life. Within four days the rebellion swept into Baltimore itself, and to other major railroad lines across the country.

Since the railroad magnates were hated by workers, farmers, and small businessmen, the strikers received much support. In several states the militia was called out to crush the strikes. In some cases, the militiamen refused to fire on the workers; in other instances they did open fire only to be overwhelmed by enraged crowds.

In Pittsburgh, the demonstrators took over the city, forcing the militia to surrender after a bloody battle. The railroad yards were set afire. In St. Louis, the strikers began to run the rail services themselves. In Chicago, police repression was used to forestall similar insurgency.

The July 28 issue of the *Labor Standard* ran the following headlines over its front-page article:

"WAR!!! Plundered Labor in Arms. Firemen and Brakemen On the Baltimore and Ohio R.R. Throwing Down the Gauntlet To Their Oppressors. Trains Captured By Workmen in West Virginia. Militia Sympathizing With Their Fellow Workmen. A Democratic Governor applies to the Republican President for Federal Troops. Railroad Thieves Appealing to [President Rutherford B.] Hayes For Help. Workpeople everywhere sympathizing with the Strikers. Railroad Depots And Trains In Pittsburgh Captured By Workmen. Pittsburgh Militia with the workers. They refuse to obey their Capitalistic Commanders. Middle Class Militia Men From Philadelphia Besieged And Compelled To Run For Their Lives. Arms Seized, Trains And Oil Cars Burned. Democratic and Republican Governors joining hands against the workpeople. Militia Under Arms In New York And Other Cities. Will They Murder Their Fellow Workmen? The Great Strike Extending All Over. Meetings of Workmen. Beware of Politicians."



th Regiment in Baltimore

WPUS members distributed the party's press among the workers. In Philadelphia the police confiscated as many copies of the *Labor Standard* as they could find and banned all meetings. The WPUS was able to organize mass meetings in as many as a dozen other cities.

The scope of labor solidarity was indicated by P. McDonnell in a speech, given at New York's Cooper Union, that was quoted in the August 4 issue of *Labor Standard*: "It was a grand sight to see in West Virginia white and colored men standing together, men of all nationalities in one supreme contest for the common rights of workmen."

In Chicago, addressing more than 20,000 people, WPUS leader Albert Parsons drew upon the anger of the assembled workers, directing it toward a class-struggle strategy:

"Let us reduce the hours of labor to one-half and then form a combination, and then demand that wages we want. In order to do this we have to combine in some kind of labor organization. . . . Let us understand our position. If we reduce our hours of labor, the bosses and capitalists will immediately purchase another machine to replace us. Let us then, immediately, reduce the hours of labor once more, and in that way we can keep pace with them. (Voice, "We can, every time.") . . . Let us remember that we are the working classes of America. Let us give the politician to understand that we don't want him about. We have no votes to give to the Republican or Democratic party. (A voice: "Or the greenbackers either.")* Let us remember that the Democratic, Republican and Greenback parties are composed of the bosses of the country. Voices, "you bet," and "here, here.") . . . Let the grand army of labor say who shall fill the legislative halls of this country."

Parsons placed this trinity of trade unionism, eight-hour day, and independent labor political action within a revolutionary framework: "We shake out of their [the capitalists'] hands the means by which they now enslave us. Let us not forget the fact that all wealth and civilization comes from labor, and labor alone. Let us not forget that while we work ten hours a day the capitalist puts the value of seven hours of it in his pocket. It rests with you to say whether we shall allow the capitalist to go on, or whether we shall organize ourselves. Will you organize?"

The Greenback Party, formed in 1874, promised to restore prosperity through monetary reform. Basically a middle-class party, it won some labor support, adopting the name Greenback-Labor Party in 1878. It dissolved after the presidential election of 1884.

(Cries, "We will.") Well, then enroll your names in the grand army of labor, and if the capitalist engages in warfare against our rights, then we shall resist him with all the means that God has given us" (quoted in the July 28, 1877, *Labor Standard*).

Collapse and Aftermath

On July 25, Karl Marx wrote to his comrade Frederick Engels: "What do you think of the workers of the United States? This first explosion against the associated oligarchy of capital which has occurred since the Civil War will naturally again be suppressed, but can very well form the point of origin of an earnest workers' party. . . . A nice sauce is being stirred over there, and the transference of the International to the United States [in 1872] may obtain a very remarkable *post festum* opportuneness."

Marx knew that American capitalism was still advancing. The ruling class, though surprised and shaken, had not lost confidence in its own future and was quite capable of effectively marshaling the repressive forces of the state against the striking workers.

Hundreds of working people were killed or badly wounded throughout the country, as state and federal forces moved in to crush the upheaval. In Pittsburgh, federal troops arrived and soon gained control of the situation.

Only in St. Louis was the Workingmen's Party able to offer the beginnings of effective leadership to the struggle. An immense outdoor meeting was called by the WPUS that drew thousands of workers into the strike movement. A delegation from the Workingmen's Party persuaded the railroad workers to strike the next day.

A city-wide general strike was then organized by a strike executive committee that met at the headquarters of the WPUS. Gains for the workers were won in many trades, and certain economic activities were allowed to continue under the control of the strikers. The *St. Louis Republican* asserted: "It is wrong to call this a strike; it is a labor revolution."

The strike committee sent a message to the governor of Missouri calling for an eight-hour law, a child labor law, and "living wages [to be] paid to the railroad men." The strike committee naively concluded that this would "at once bring peace and prosperity such as we have not seen for the last 15 years. Nothing short of a compliance to the above just demand, made purely in the interest of our national welfare, will arrest the tidal wave of revolution."

A combined municipal, state, and federal

military force, plus well-armed vigilantes financed by the employers, raided the strike headquarters and carried out mass arrests. The upheaval, having been quelled throughout the country by the end of the week, came to an end in St. Louis as well.

As the strike wave began to recede, sections of the Workingmen's Party quickly discarded their revolutionary enthusiasm. One editorial in the *Labor Standard* denounced "riotous mobs and a tumultuous rabble" that had committed "deeds of violence for which the organized workingmen can not justly be held responsible."

Within a short period, the WPUS had split into many fragments. Some leaders such as P.J. McGuire and Samuel Gompers, who founded the American Federation of Labor, settled into the channels of conservative craft unionism. Others, such as Lucien Saniel and the other initiators of the Socialist Labor Party, drifted into doctrinaire sectarianism.

The key leaders of the WPUS in Chicago, Albert Parsons and August Spies, became anarcho-syndicalists, advocating militant unionism as an alternative to political action. Parsons became a central leader of the movement for an eight-hour workday in Chicago. In 1886, he and Spies were executed after having been framed for the murder of police officers in the Haymarket bombing.

With the outbreak of 1877, historian Samuel Yellen has correctly noted, "a national labor movement had been born." Nonetheless, several factors forestalled the development of the "earnest workers' party" Marx hoped would emerge from the conflict.

Successive waves of immigrants from Europe and Black workers from the South created a vast pool of ethnically divided cheap labor. On the other hand, the ruling class fostered privileges for certain groups of white male workers, particularly native-born craftsmen.

Mass discontent with monopoly capitalism was dominated by middle-class movements like Populism and Progressivism. Above all, there were the gigantic strides made by American capitalism on a world scale.

One hundred years later, many things have changed. Instead of being largely unorganized and at the mercy of the employers, American industrial workers have organized massive unions that harbor enormous potential power. Instead of accepting the status of a cheap labor supply for the capitalists, Black, Chicano, and women workers have gained experience and confidence through struggles for equal rights.

As in 1877, the capitalist class is trying to make the workers pay for an economic crisis brought on by capitalism. Because of this, big class struggles are inevitable.

Unlike 1877, however, the American capitalist class is no longer rising toward a dominant world position, but is on the downgrade. Its representatives no longer predict new horizons of expanding prosperity, but talk about the "end of the American dream."

These conditions—the augmented strength of the workers and the historic decline of their class enemies—make possible a socialist outcome of the coming confrontations.

Key to the successful outcome of these working-class battles will be the struggle to break the union movement from its subordination to the capitalist Democratic Party, and to build the massive "earnest workers' party" that Marx foresaw. In moving forward along this road, American workers will owe much to the efforts of the advanced workers who founded the Workingmen's Party, and to thousands of others who took on the power of American capitalism in the struggles of 1877.

Coming in October

The Great Labor Uprising of 1877

by Philip S. Foner

288 pages, \$3.95 paper, \$12.00 cloth

A Monad Press book distributed by
Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street,
New York, New York 10014



Steelworkers at Allegheny Ludlum plant in Pittsburgh

...Steel

Continued from page ISR/4

from 1966. Other figures were: West Germany, 40.4 million tons, up 15 percent; Britain, 19.8 million tons, down 20 percent; and France, 21.5 million tons, up 10 percent.

Many of the firms shown on these lists have diversified into other metals and machinery. That is as true of the U.S. steel trust as its rivals in Japan and Europe. But these foreign steel-centered "conglomerates" now outsold the U.S. firms by a margin of more than three to one. Japan's rapidly increasing share of world steel, so clearly evident in the comparison of 1963 and 1970 figures, has slowed down, as can be seen in the accompanying table based on these lists (Table 3).

While the once-hegemonic position of the U.S. steel trust continues to be eroded, the European powers now vie with Japan to carve up world markets. Most important of all, the figures underline that world economic crisis in no way slows down the concentration and centralization of national capitals into ever more massive competing monopolies. If anything, this process is intensified. And these are the most basic roots of the new world crisis in steel.

As each competing firm tries to overcome its profit problems through ever more advanced technology and the accompanying reduction of the work force, it moves all the more rapidly

toward saturating world markets with the more abundant goods its advanced technology can produce. At one and the same time the productivity drive and the tendency toward world overproduction combine to rob workers of jobs. I wrote in the 1972 article:

“Whether U.S. steel can regain the paramount position in world competition it held at the outset of the 1960s remains to be seen. What is certain is that its battle to do so—and the corresponding competition of foreign steel trusts to stabilize and increase their own grasp of world markets—will jeopardize hundreds of thousands of jobs throughout the capitalist world.”

This prediction required no crystal-ball gazing. It was founded on the basic laws of capitalist competition. Japan itself rose so rapidly to become the second capitalist world superpower in steel following World War II because, on one hand, its industrial base was reduced to rubble and the new plants incorporated the latest technological advances; and, on the other hand, Japanese capitalism was able to keep a tight lid on wages and is still able to pay Japanese workers less than their co-workers in Europe and the United States.

The *Economist's* most striking figure concerns the leap in Japanese steel productivity, from more than sixty-nine hours of labor per ton of steel twenty years ago to less than nine hours today. The United States steel industry's strategy for successfully competing with Japan is

based on continued attacks on the wage levels of steelworkers and stepped-up productivity, meaning even more layoffs. There is no other way.

III. Antilabor Policies in the U.S.

The U.S. steel industry is in the leadership of the drive to lower the standard of living of American workers and to improve the competitive position of U.S. monopoly. Typical of the propaganda it puts out is a special issue of *Iron Age*, the industry's weekly journal, dated April 11, 1977. Entitled "Why America Must Get Back to Basics—or Go Down Hill," the *Iron Age* article glorifies the profit drive:

“Getting back to basics means . . . facing up to the basic economic truth that the private sector alone creates wealth; government only redistributes wealth. The central thrust of policy must be to give the private sector the freedom and the incentives needed to optimize wealth-creation.”

Iron Age cites Irving Shapiro, chairman of the board of E.I. Du Pont de Nemours chemical: "Americans should face up to the reality that the past quarter-century has been 'an anomaly, a one-time event' of growth and prosperity which is not likely to be repeated."

Iron Age dredges up Bayard Rustin, national chairperson of the Social Democrats USA, to support the capitalist position: "Policies that seek to transfer wealth from the affluent and middle classes to the poor and working classes," says Rustin, "if carried out under conditions of

Table 1
The great reversal in world steel competition*

U.S. 'Big Eight'	Foreign steel corporations	1970	
1963	Fried. Krupp (W. Ger.)	U.S. Steel	Nippon Steel (Jap.)
U.S. Steel	\$1,062,750,000	\$4,814,368,000	\$3,991,578,000
\$3,599,256,000	August-Thyssen-Hütte (W. Ger.)	Bethlehem Steel	British Steel
Bethlehem Steel	\$998,626,000	\$2,935,408,000	\$3,496,800,000
\$2,095,769,000	Mannesmann (W. Ger.)	Armco Steel	August-Thyssen-Hütte (W. Ger.)
Republic Steel	\$895,000,000	\$1,583,673,000	\$2,956,674,000
\$1,114,192,000	Rheinische Stahlwerke (W. Ger.)	Republic Steel	BHP (Australia)
Armco Steel	\$852,500,000	\$1,364,694,000	\$1,931,216,000
\$933,439,000	FINSIDER (Italy)	National Steel	Nippon Kokan (Jap.)
National Steel	\$851,200,000	\$1,248,363,000	\$1,799,675,000
\$846,486,000	Yawata Iron & Steel (Jap.)	Inland Steel	Mannesmann (W. Ger.)
Jones & Laughlin	\$827,516,000	\$1,195,088,000	\$1,784,426,000
\$835,750,000	Guest, Keen & Nettlefolds (Br.)	Jones & Laughlin	Krupp-Konzern (W. Ger.)
Inland Steel	\$771,515,000	\$994,824,000	\$1,645,902,000
\$808,090,000	BHP (Australia)	Lykes-Youngstown	Sumitomo Metal Indus. (Jap.)
Youngstown Sheet & Tube	\$765,000,000	\$892,611,000	\$1,573,302,000
\$626,917,000	ARBED (Lux.)		Kobe Steel (Jap.)
	\$700,000,000		\$1,426,581,000
	Salzgitter (W. Ger.)		Hoesch (W. Ger.)
	\$660,137,000		\$1,425,184,000
	Tube Investments (Br.)		ARBED (Luxembourg)
	\$630,000,000		\$1,334,480,000
			Rheinstahl (W. Ger.)
			\$1,302,604,000
	\$9,014,244,000		Kawasaki Steel (Jap.)
			\$1,145,018,000
			Wendel-Sidlor (France)
			\$1,063,334,000
			Italsider (Italy)
			\$1,048,480,000
			Usinor (France)
			\$954,955,000
			\$28,880,209,000

*Source: *Fortune* magazine annual reports on the biggest U.S. and overseas firms.

stagnation—cannot prevent, and may in fact contribute, to the declining standards of all the people, rich and poor alike.”

Another corporate executive puts it more succinctly: The government must “de-control, de-regulate and de-involve themselves where possible and allow the free enterprise system room to work.”

These are the roots of the governmental cutback drives, from those of the Carter administration in Washington down to local state and city governments. The slashing of jobs, health, education, and welfare spending by governments, the attempts to deregulate energy prices and to roll back environmental protection laws reflect the profit needs of the corporate trusts.

Like other major industries the steel industry work force ranges across the population in age, race, and sex.

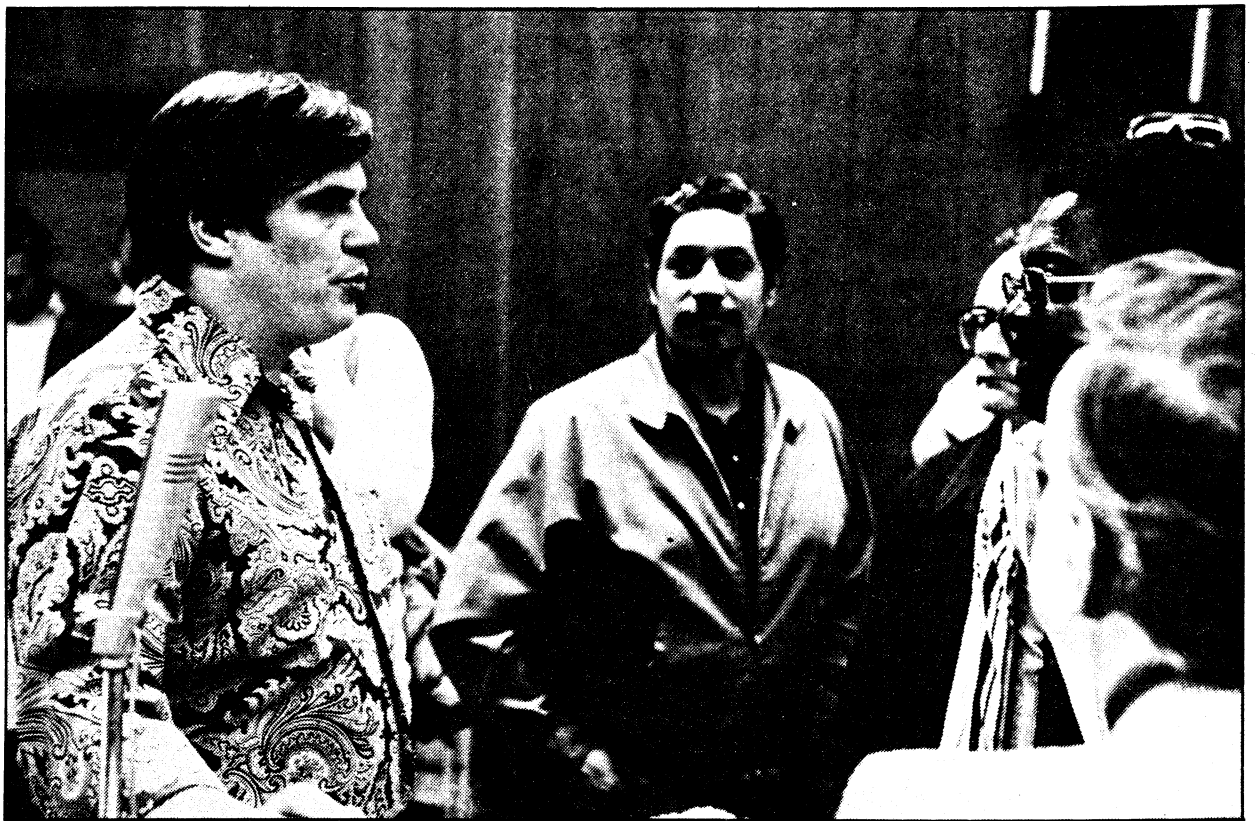
The steel industry profits from the special oppression of different social layers. In 1971, the most recent year for which there is complete data on the steel labor force, the median annual earnings of white steelworkers was \$9,563, compared with \$8,259 for Black workers. Male wages had a median annual rate of \$9,562, compared with \$7,000 for female steel wages. The earnings of eighteen- to nineteen-year-olds stood at \$5,500 compared with the highest average level of \$10,083 for steelworkers aged forty to forty-nine. Such an industry will oppose any meaningful attempts to equalize pay levels for Black and women workers. It thrives on the ability to pay younger workers less, and to offer them considerably less job stability, than older steelworkers.

It is noteworthy also that the steel industry increasingly owns its own coalfields in the United States, so that this industry also confronts the militant coal miners as a growing part of “its” work force.

* * *

The central role that the steel industry plays in determining U.S. governmental policy at home and abroad was vividly illustrated by the origins of President Nixon’s “New Economic Policy” in 1971. The drafting of this policy was intimately related to the previous world downturn in steel and to negotiations with the United Steelworkers union that took place in the summer of 1971. Robert Wood, a *Los Angeles Times* reporter, explained in a March 11-13 series of articles in 1972 that the settlement of the steelworkers contract was an event that hastened Nixon’s launching of the NEP, which had been in preparation for some months previously. Wood gave almost a day-by-day recounting: “Then came climactic Aug. 2 [1971], a Monday,” he wrote.

“On Sunday the steel companies had announced an 11th-hour settlement with their unions, raising wages more than 30% over three



Ed Sadlowski speaks to steelworkers in Cleveland during election campaign.

Glenn Campbell

years. On Monday, they leaped onto the news-wires again with the disclosure that they would raise prices on virtually all of their output by 8%.”

Within the next two weeks the NEP was speeded to completion. The final impulse came with an international flight from the dollar the second weekend after the steel settlement.

“It was becoming more apparent that it would be just a matter of time until we simply reached the end of the rope,” a high Nixon administration official told Wood. Nixon announced the NEP on August 15, a Sunday, in order to get the word out before money markets opened the following day. The U.S. “gold window” was slammed down, effectively devaluing the dollar; a rash of protectionist measures defending U.S. products in world trade was announced; and the wages of all American workers were frozen, to be followed in ninety days by the institution of semipermanent government agencies to police wages. I.W. Abel, then head of the steelworkers union, was a member of every wage-policing board that Nixon set up. The Carter administration has taken moves within the past month to put such agencies back in operation.

The New Economic Policy consequently grew out of and reflected the major needs of U.S. corporations: permanent attacks on wages (the NEP of course merely pretended to control prices); policies in international trade and finance designed to protect the competitive position of U.S. goods. Devaluation of the dollar would make American goods cheaper in foreign markets and foreign goods more expensive at

home. In some cases, and speciality steel is an important example, U.S. products would also be protected by quotas on imports of foreign-made goods.

At the same time the steel industry intensified its productivity drive. The 1971 labor-management agreement brought into existence “productivity committees” that would seek

Table 3
Percent of major world steel firm sales

	1963	1970	1975
United States	55	34	24
West Germany	22	21	21
Britain	7	8	9
Japan	4	23	24
France	—	5	8

means to speed up production and slash the labor force under the banner of making American steel more competitive. In 1973 the steel industry was able to win the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA) from the steelworkers, which banned strikes on a national basis. This would all the more serve to *protect the industry* as it intensified the productivity drive.

The results in increased productivity can easily be seen from government figures giving the index of steel output per labor hour from 1960 (Table 4).

These figures show that from the mid-1960s the steel industry was unable to step up workers’ productivity as the world crisis of capitalism

TABLE 2

All figures in Table 2 are in thousands of dollars.

U.S. ‘Big Eight’	Foreign steel corporations	
U.S. Steel	Nippon (Japan)	Salzgitter (W. Ger.)*
\$8,167,269	\$8,796,902	\$2,829,973
Bethlehem	August-Thyssen-Hüth (W. Ger.)	Italsider (Italy)*
\$4,977,229	\$8,764,899	\$2,746,266
Armco	British Steel*	Guest, Keen & Nettlefolds (Britain)
\$3,046,738	\$5,340,183	\$2,697,170
Republic	Mannesmann (W. Ger.)	Usinor (France)
\$2,333,281	\$5,333,142	\$2,455,766
National	Sumitomo Metal Industries (Japan)	Broken Hill Proprietary (Australia)
\$2,241,167	\$4,239,153	\$2,431,562
Inland	Nippon Kokan (Japan)	VOEST-Appine (Austria)*
\$2,107,418	\$4,199,018	\$2,237,754
Jones & Laughlin	Kawasaki Steel (Japan)	Statsföretag Group (W. Ger.)*
\$1,687,000	\$3,808,190	\$1,912,406
Lykes-Youngstown	Krupp-Konzern (W. Ger.)	Vallourec (France)
\$1,517,839	\$3,795,318	\$1,783,428
	Kobe Steel (Japan)	Sacilor (France)
	\$3,358,680	\$1,728,409
	ESTEL (Netherlands)	Tube Investments (Britain)
	\$3,341,326	\$1,648,165
	ARBED (Luxembourg)	Kubota (Japan)
	\$3,322,711	\$1,563,619
	Schneider (France)	
	\$3,035,490	
\$26,077,941		\$81,369,530

*Government owned.

Table 4
Output per labor hour

1960	82.3
1965	101.1
1970	101.1
1971	104.9
1972	101.9
1973	123.8
1974	123.4
(1967=100)	

deepened. (We have already noted that the year 1971 was the trough of the previous steel downturn.) But with the productivity drive launched in 1971 the steel barons succeeded in registering an 18 percent increase in output per hour of work by 1973, the year of maximum steel output in the most recent steel upturn.

At the same time the steel industry has managed to put through price increases at a faster rate than either consumer or wholesale prices have risen. From 1970 to 1974, for example, the index of all U.S. consumer prices rose 27 percent; the index of all wholesale prices

Table 5
Wages and productivity in basic steel¹

Year	Wages per hour (Current dollars)	Wages (1967 dollars)	Hours per ton ²	Labor cost per ton (Current dollars)	Labor cost per ton (1967 dollars) ³
1960	\$3.28	\$3.69	9.45	\$31.00	\$31.93
1965	\$3.75	\$3.97	7.90	\$29.63	\$30.27
1969	\$4.37	\$3.98	7.22	\$31.55	\$27.41
1971	\$4.59	\$3.78	7.88	\$36.17	\$29.70
1973	\$5.97	\$4.48	6.43	\$38.39	\$28.19

1. Source: *Annual Survey of Manufacturers* for the given year.

2. These productivity figures are not compatible with the estimate of Japanese productivity cited from the *Economist* earlier. The *Economist's* estimate is apparently based on *all employees* in the Japanese steel industry, while the figures in this table are based on *production workers only*.

3. This figure is adjusted for rising steel prices: The bosses make up for higher costs by raising steel prices. The figures in this last column were obtained by dividing the labor costs per ton (column five) by the wholesale price index for iron and steel (1967=100).

rose 45 percent; and the index of iron and steel wholesale prices rose 55 percent. The combination of sharply increased productivity, higher prices, and a record high output of steel for the postwar period in 1973-74, served to *dramatically turn around the deteriorating profit position of the steel industry*.

Table 5 presents a more detailed breakdown of wages, output, and the effects of inflation in steel production since 1960.

The years shown on this table are trough and peak steel production years in the 1960s, before the NEP and the turn in the long-term capitalist economic cycle, and in the 1970s. The year 1960 was recessionary; steel production was up in 1965; it was once again down, and in its worst postwar crisis for the United States, in 1971; and it turned up to reach its all-time historic peak in 1973. The figures in the second wages column adjust wages for inflated consumer prices. The figures in the final column adjust labor costs for inflated iron and steel prices. A revealing comparison can be made between the peak steel production years of 1965 and 1973.

Over this eight-year period nominal steel wages rose from \$3.75 an hour to \$5.97 an hour, 59 percent. But rising consumer prices eroded most of these gains. In terms of real purchasing power of the dollar, the 1973 wages were higher than the 1965 wages by only 13 percent—not much to boast about during eight years of war, inflation, and economic crisis.

In the same period productivity continued to increase as the steel industry more and more introduced the technological changes that had been developed during and after World War II. Youngstown Sheet and Tube, one of the weaker of the big U.S. steel companies, lists the percentage of raw steel produced by BOF during the last five years as: 1972, 38.3%; 1973, 33.9%; 1974, 36.5%; 1975, 51%; and 1976, 59%. And 59 percent is still not 100 percent. As early as 1970, Japanese corporations as a whole averaged 80 percent BOF. So this is a process that is clearly continuing.

Going back to our figures and taking the two base years of 1965 and 1973 again, it took 7.9 hours of basic production worker labor in the earlier year and 6.43 hours in the later year to produce one short ton of raw steel. *This is a 23 percent increase in production per hour of labor time.*

The next two columns show that although the steel trust has been forced to pay higher wages—and consequently its labor costs per ton have risen, even though productivity has increased—it has been able to raise steel prices at a faster rate, and consequently it has been able to reduce labor costs per hour in real terms. These figures cut across any industry claim that rising labor costs are driving it to the point of bankruptcy.

What does rise rapidly is the cost of the

machinery and raw materials the steel industry uses. Raw materials, in fact, constitute by far the largest cost category for the steel industry (and it is the access of U.S. steel companies to abundant and cheap coal in the United States that keeps domestic steel production on a profitable basis even though the overseas sales of the U.S. steel trust have been sharply eroded). Yet even given higher raw materials prices, the steel companies have been able to pretty much compensate by the speed at which they raise iron and steel prices. Table 6 presents pertinent figures for 1965 and 1973.

In the peak production years of 1965 and 1973 the raw materials prices for U.S. steel companies increased by more than 60 percent—if we take them at their word. Wages also increased, as we have already seen. *But so did steel prices!* The end result is that the difference between the steel companies' costs and selling prices was greater in 1973 than 1965. And by every measure that the capitalists themselves used, so were their profits.

Table 7, for example, gives figures on the profit increases per share of stock of the given corporation, averaged per year, over the past five years and over the past ten years.

It is quite evident that despite the recent profit downturns because of global steel overproduction, the U.S. steel firms have been able to rack up high profit increases in the post-NEP period—and that these were higher than their profit increases in the previous period. Wall Street does not scoff at a corporation—U.S. Steel, for example, the third-biggest steel firm in the world—that chalks up profit increases averaging 25.5 percent a year. The reflection of the steel companies' positions on the stock market is perhaps the best testimony to the results of five years of speedup, sharply higher prices, and protection in world trade (Table 8).

The three columns capture the steel trust at three postwar turning points: In 1961, at the height of the "Pax Americana" period for the steel barons, undaunted by foreign competition; in 1971, at the trough of a world steel glut that hit the United States the worst, when the steel industry and other U.S. firms launched their governmental across-the-board attack on workers; in 1976 when, even though steel sales and production are falling around the globe, the steel barons believe they have reestablished a profitable basis for future production. Between 1961 and 1971 the share prices of the big steel companies declined by \$6.9 billion, more than 63 percent. In 1976 much of this paper value had been restored.

But this does not tell the whole story, for in 1961 the shares of U.S. Steel were selling at thirty times the profits per share—indicative of the feeling that this company's markets would never be dimmed by the shadow of foreign

competition. But now they are selling a more tentative multiple of ten times earnings. The rulers of the United States cannot have any perspective of regaining the hegemony that their victory in World War II brought.

What they are striving to do is to improve their position within the context of sharply intensified competition for world markets. This must be the focal point of any answer to the corporate bosses when they try to justify no-strike pledges, limits on wage increases, and speedup in the plants on the basis of "Japanese imports."

Not Japanese imports, but the drive of the U.S. firms themselves, not only to export U.S. goods but to compete with the next U.S. firm in capturing a larger share of the U.S. market, is the basic problem.

Look at the profit differences between "Big Steel" (U.S. Steel) and the lesser firms even among the "Big Eight" shown on the previous pages. The profit drive itself is the source of the continuous attack on workers. The main thing the industries are trying to do is to *get a bigger*

Table 7
Steel profits*
(Annual rate of change per share, in percent)

	Past 10 years	Past 5 years
U.S. Steel	8.5	25.5
Bethlehem	5.5	14.5
National	1.0	9.5
Republic	2.0	21.5
Armco	5.0	18.5
Inland	4.5	16.5

*Neither Youngstown Sheet & Tube nor Jones & Laughlin appears in this table or in the following table because both are subsidiaries, the first, of Lykes-Youngstown, and the second, of Ling-Temco-Vought (LTV).

share of the U.S. market.

There is no point at which the interests of the bosses and workers coincide in this struggle. The steel companies already have import quotas on speciality steels, and they are asking for more quotas. But these quotas have been in existence since 1974 and the steel labor force is *less* by 64,000 workers since 1974.

There is no promise of the steel companies to add on jobs for every ton (or million tons!) of steel that they keep out of the U.S. markets. On the contrary, their basic aim is to get more steel tonnage out of fewer workers, and this speedup drive continues willy-nilly, in peak years, where it is most pronounced, and in down years.

The companies are certainly not going to promise a fractional increase in wages for the foreign steel that they exclude. On the contrary, again, they aim to keep the lid on wage increases no matter what. The best way for the steel industry to improve its competitive position is to keep wage increases down and productivity up so that profit margins improve.

As the world crisis deepens the capitalists of all countries will seek greater protection of their markets. Recently the Common Market countries have formed a steel cartel, "Eurofer," to help them salvage the wreckage of steel overproduction in Europe. But Eurofer's main aim is not going to be to limit Japanese and U.S. steel sales in Europe, although this is a part of it. It will be to intensify production in Europe, to move toward eliminating those 200,000 jobs in out-

Table 8
Market value of common stocks*

	1961 (high)	1971 (low)	1976 (high)
U.S. Steel	4,935	1,357	4,883
Bethlehem	2,248	898	2,096
National	749	663	1,002
Republic	1,036	228	654
Armco	1,176	450	1,039
Inland	876	479	1,175
Total	11,020	4,135	10,849

*in millions of dollars

Table 6
Basic steel manufacturing and sales data¹

	Capital expenditures	Cost of materials	Wages	Price of shipments	Profit ratio ²
1965	\$1,451	\$13,146	\$3,897	\$23,586	27.5%
1973	\$1,263	\$21,059	\$5,795	\$36,240	28.9%

1. millions of dollars

2. Price of shipments less capital expenditures, cost of materials and wages divided by these costs. This is *not* equivalent to the rate of profit in the Marxist sense, among other reasons because: capital expenditures do not correspond to capital consumed (a category for which it is impossible to obtain reliable data); the cost of materials is suspect since much of the coal is internally owned (the corporation "sells" it to itself); and the price of shipments does not correspond to value produced but rather the amount of goods sold in the given year, which could include sales of previous inventories.

moded steel plants that the *Economist* complains about. In Europe as in the United States and in Japan, the central drive is and will continue to be to improve productivity and profit margins. And that means fewer jobs. The claim of these industries that they provide jobs, and that it is job protection they seek in looking for important quotas, is completely hypocritical. What they seek is higher profits. The import scare is primarily a cover for their intensified antilabor policies.

...China

Continued from page ISR:5

"faction in power."

They point to the "May 16th" group that reportedly tried to overturn Premier Chou En-lai.

Then there was Lin Piao, Mao's second-in-command in the "Cultural Revolution." Lin was officially designated Mao's "closest comrade-in-arms and successor" in the constitution adopted by the ninth congress of the Chinese Communist Party in 1969. He was later alleged to have died mysteriously in 1971.

The latest additions to the roll of counter-revolutionaries are the "gang of four."

Why is it that all the top leaders of the "Cultural Revolution," assembled in Mao's "proletarian headquarters" in order to "fiercely struggle against the bourgeois headquarters with Liu Shao-ch'i as its chieftain," (to quote from the July 1976 issue of *China Reconstructs*), turned out to be "capitalist roaders" themselves, not to mention "swindlers" and "fascists"?

Isn't there something peculiar about a "great helmsman" who assembled such a collection of cutthroats on his vessel? What was the purpose of the voyage that attracted such a bloodthirsty crew? Is it possible that the "Cultural Revolution" was not what it was touted to be by Mao's idolators? Doesn't the Howards' evidence support the view that this "revolution" was not a struggle against bureaucracy and capitalist restoration but an intrabureaucratic gang fight, devoid of principles?

After what the Howards have written of the negative features of the Cultural Revolution—above all the massive repression and fear that resulted—one wonders how this event can be rated as merely "30% negative"? What kind of "socialist" bookkeeping is it that places such a low valuation on workers democracy?

The Howards' report sheds light on what Chih Heng, writing in the August 20, 1976, issue of *Peking Review*, calls Mao's "scientific" thesis that under socialism "the bourgeoisie [was] in the Communist Party." The corollary of this axiom was that conflicts in the party were battles between the "proletarian line," invariably represented by Mao, and the "capitalist road," followed by all who dissented. This "theory" was the juggernaut of vilification with which the chairman rolled over anyone who challenged his judgment.

In contrast to these "two-line" struggles, Mao designated other disputes as "contradictions among the people." This meant that the decree of excommunication was held in reserve as a threat, while critics were given a chance to repent their errors.

The Howards contend, in line with the official view, that the campaign against "bourgeois rights" (pay differentials and other forms of privilege) and "against the special privileges granted to high-level cadres" were factional maneuvers aimed at old party cadres such as Chou En-lai.

Austerity and Privilege

But as the Howards must know, the campaign against "bourgeois rights" was much more than a factional play. It was a radical-sounding cover for Mao's policy of austerity. Under this slogan,

the living standards of the masses were frozen or reduced.

The propaganda in support of this campaign indicated its real purposes. A June 1975 dispatch by Rene Flipo in the *Los Angeles Times* described Ting Ken-tsai, a factory worker at Loyang, who boasted that he had not had a pay raise or promotion in twenty years, and he had refused to accept payment for overtime. The campaign against "bourgeois rights" consisted not only of encouraging workers to refuse overtime pay and eschew wage increases, but also heralded the installation of twenty hours of unpaid "voluntary work" per month.

This was no aberration of the "gang of four." It was part of Mao's reliance on intense bureaucratic pressure on the work force rather than material incentives to achieve increased production.

In essence, this approach meant applying the methods of denunciation used against "capitalist roaders" in the party to the masses as well. In Mao's lexicon, the bourgeoisie was not only in the Communist Party but among the workers and peasants who wanted a better life. They were exhorted to give up such "bourgeois" aspirations.

Having had their desire for economic betterment thwarted, the masses' hopes were raised when Chou En-lai called for economic "modernization," which they believed meant higher living standards.

Mao dashed these hopes by opening a new witch-hunt after Chou's death against bureaucrats identified with this policy—notably Teng Hsiao-p'ing. The mass discontent with this campaign exploded in the demonstration of 100,000 people that took place in Peking's Tien An Men Square on April 5, 1976. The demonstration was violently dispersed, Teng was purged, and the campaign against "material incentives" and "bourgeois rights" continued to mount until the purge of the "gang of four."

In denouncing the "gang of four," the Howards reveal a very different China from the idyllic land usually described in the pro-Maoist press—a China of widespread fear and repression where the populace is pressured to reduce its living standards while the top leaders show no inclination to abjure their "bourgeois rights" and special privileges.

The Howards would have us believe that luxurious living was restricted to the "gang of four," while other leaders practiced austerity. Yet we know from the Chinese press that Chiang Ch'ing is accused of having spent \$30,000 in a little more than a month at Tientsin, including \$4,000 of Mao's royalties. Wang Hung-wen, we are told, squandered \$10,000 during a three-month stay in Shanghai—the equivalent of thirty years' pay for an ordinary worker.

These charges—which might seem exaggerated—have been given added force by revelations in Roxane Witke's recent book, *Comrade Chiang Ch'ing*, based on interviews given by Chiang Ch'ing herself. A lavish standard of living is vividly described, including retinues of personal servants.

Clearly more than Chiang Ch'ing and her coterie are involved. This kind of life led by the "four" could only have been enjoyed by them for so long if such behavior was common among party leaders. Haven't charges of opulent living

been made against each successive purge victim in the top leadership—from Liu Shao-ch'i to Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing? How can the Howards uphold these charges and yet maintain that such privileges are uncommon in the Chinese officialdom?

The Way Forward

To hear the Howards tell it, a tiny cabal of alleged capitalists was able to lord it over the army, the police, the party, and the central committee, despite the fearless and infallible leadership of Mao Tsetung. The facts show, however, that they acted under the chairman's guidance and protection.

Because the four were dependent on Mao's support, Hua Kuo-feng—formerly a member of the same clique—was able to double-cross them and sweep them aside. Surely it was not because Hua produced a slip of paper in Mao's handwriting that said, "With you in charge, I'm at ease," especially since that comment referred to Hua's handling of certain provincial problems and not at all to the succession (*People's Daily*, December 17, 1976).

Usurpers still find it necessary to manufacture history in order to legitimize their accession to power. In this case, the legend reveals much about the regime, for it assumes that Mao could give China to Hua on a piece of paper. What about the central committee, not to mention the party as a whole? What about the Chinese masses? Do they have no voice about who is to rule?

After the death of Stalin in the Soviet Union, his cult suffered many blows, and some of the most repressive features of his rule were ameliorated. In China, Hua Kuo-feng continues to pay tribute to Mao's infallibility in order to lend legitimacy to his own regime. At the same time, he is trying to build up his own cult, modeled on the cult of Mao, which in turn was modeled on the cult of Stalin.

Hua has dismantled Mao's faction, using the same methods Mao used against his opponents: exposing some real transgressions, while piling up vilification, amalgams, and finally outright frame-ups—for example, the charges that Chiang Ch'ing and others were "Kuomintang agents" who sought to "restore capitalism." The leading bureaucrats are proceeding gingerly down this road, but inevitably the denunciations of the "gang of four" compromise Mao as well.

The repression practiced by the "gang of four," that is, by Mao's regime, had for its purpose the safeguarding of bureaucratic privilege. The machinery of repression will not be dismantled by any bureaucratic successor to Mao—be it Hua Kuo-feng, Teng Hsiao-p'ing, or any of their cohorts.

The masses are not permitted to question the leaders, their life-styles, or their policies. They are allowed only to sing the praises of those in power, to join in campaigns against those opposed by the clique in power. Any who question this state of affairs become candidates for "unnecessary detention"—not to mention "public humiliation, kidnapping, torture, and even murder."

In their blasts at Moscow, the Chinese contend that a new bourgeoisie arose "under the conditions of socialism," suppressed the Soviet people, usurped power, and "seized for themselves the means of production" (quoted in *Peking Review*, September 8, 1976).

This is a factional distortion. It ignores the fact that the nationalization of the means of production established as a result of the October 1917 revolution has not been scuttled. Nor do the privileges of the bureaucracy have any legal sanction.

The Soviet Union is a workers state, but one in which a parasitic bureaucracy has seized political power in order to protect and extend its special privileges. Is not the same true of China? The Howards provide new proof that the same bureaucratic usurpation and privilege, together with the absence of institutions of workers democracy, is to be found there.

In China, as in the Soviet Union, the road to socialism lies in a mass antibureaucratic revolution. Such a revolution will preserve the conquests of the Chinese revolution—the abolition of capitalism and landlordism—while establishing a truly proletarian government based on real socialist internationalism.



Left: purge victims Wang, Chiang, and Chang. Right: Hua Kuo-feng and Teng Hsiao-p'ing in a recent appearance



BOOKS



Richard Wright

By George Breitman

American Hunger

By Richard Wright Harper & Row, New York 1977, 147 pp., \$8.95.

Prospective buyers of *American Hunger* should be warned that the Harper and Row book jacket makes a false and highly misleading claim about its contents. (I leave aside errors of fact such as the assertion, made twice, that Richard Wright moved from the South to Chicago in 1934; as Wright wrote in the first paragraph of the first page in this book, "The year was 1927.")

Wright was one of the best American writers of his time (1908-60). Nobody wrote novels, stories, or essays so vividly depicting the reality of racism in the United States and its effects on Blacks and whites. He was also a severe critic of the inhumanity, brutality, and spiritual barrenness of capitalism. His *Black Boy* remains one of the great American autobiographies.

American Hunger is published seventeen years after his death as an expatriate in Paris. It was written originally as the last six chapters of *Black Boy*. Wright agreed before its publication in 1945 to omit these six chapters and to restrict *Black Boy* to the story of his life in the South, which he left at the age of nineteen when he moved to Chicago. The omitted chapters were about Wright's life in Chicago from 1927 to 1936.

Of these six chapters, the book jacket says that "the bulk of it has, until now, remained unpublished. . . . Any find relating to Richard Wright is exciting. The reappearance of this absorbing

Richard Wright's 'American Hunger'

work is more than that; it is very much an event."

Responding to such cues, Gwendolyn Brooks, the poet, agrees: "It is an event, this discovery." Irving Howe, the literary critic who has written much about Wright, including a famous controversy with Ralph Ellison, cannot understand how a "personal history by one of our most important writers" could have been "lost" or "forgotten," and notes peevishly that the publisher does not explain "why we have had to wait so long" (*New York Times Book Review*, June 26); but he accepts the publisher's contention that we have had to wait. Darryl Pinckney, another critic, not only accepts it but takes it a notch further by quoting a speculation that Wright may have considered it too "sensitive to publish during his lifetime" (*Village Voice*, July 14).

But the facts are that "the bulk" of *American Hunger* was published quite a while ago, and while Wright was alive. The last three of the six chapters, dealing with Wright's experiences in the Communist Party, were published in 1950 in a book edited by Richard Crossman, *The God That Failed*, with only a few minor and insignificant changes. These three chapters make up 76 of the 135 pages by Wright in *American Hunger*, or 56 percent of the total. Before that, in 1944, this material had been published in the *Atlantic Monthly*. The Crossman book, by the way, was published by Harper.

That is not all. Virtually all of the material in the first three chapters has also been published before: first as an essay in a book edited by Edwin Seaver, *Cross Section*, 1945, and then as an essay in Wright's *Eight Men*, published in 1961 after his death. Adding this to the material from *The God That Failed* enables us to say that well over 90 percent of *American Hunger* was published before. (So long ago that Howe, who read *The God That Failed* and *Eight Men*, has forgotten that he read it before; so long ago that the younger Pinckney may never have heard of these other books.)

The publisher, however, is well aware of the facts; he has to be, to avoid suits for infringement of copyright. His awareness is shown in a publisher's note inside the book, stating that "portions . . . saw scattered publication in the 1940s." This note discreetly avoids mention of the number and size of the "portions." How else are you going to gull critics, poets, and more credulous people? How else are you going to make "an event" out of the prosaic publication for the third time of articles that were first published in the 1940s and then published a second time in the 1950s and 1960s?

As for the book itself, it adds little to Wright's stature, and it is not hard to see why he chose not to publish it as a separate work. It

has some excellent episodes, especially about his jobs as dishwasher in a café, agent for a Black insurance company, and orderly at a medical research institute in a large hospital, and about his alienation from his fellow workers as well as his employers. But I don't think that the force of these passages about Wright's lonely life in the urban North can be fully appreciated unless you have first read about his preceding years in the South. Standing by itself, *American Hunger* is insubstantial.

The major part of the book is about Wright's experiences as a member of the Communist Party in Chicago. This will be of interest to people who are concerned with U.S. radical history, the relation between politics and art, the role of intellectuals in workers parties, and similar topics. But a word of caution is needed here too: the author does not display much political insight, and he is not completely candid.

In a later book, *Black Power*, published in 1954, Wright says that he was a member of the CP from 1932 until 1944. For reasons that he does not explain, at the end of *American Hunger* he deliberately makes it appear that he left the CP in 1936. He did have a rift with the CP that year, but it was temporary and must have been healed by 1937 when he was in New York and was writing for the *Daily Worker* as its Harlem correspondent.

The real break did not take place until 1944, when he was completing his autobiography. Meanwhile, he served on the board of *New Masses* and numerous CP front organizations and faithfully supported its political line, whatever that might be—for the "People's Front" and support of Roosevelt until 1939, then against the war and against Roosevelt until Hitler invaded the Soviet Union in 1941, then for the war and for Roosevelt, and so forth. This means he was for a separate state in the "Black Belt" of the South when the CP advocated it in the early 1930s and against it when the CP shelved it during the "People's Front" period; for Black militancy during the Stalin-Hitler pact and against it during the Stalin-Roosevelt alliance.

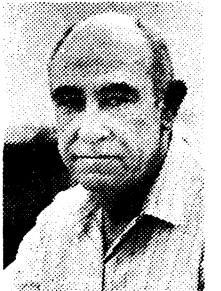
Although the book is very short, it suffers from many anachronisms. Wright says that during a writers' conference in Chicago in the summer of 1934 there was discussion about the CP's "new People's Front policy," but this policy was not introduced into the United States until 1935 and had not yet been christened with that name when it first appeared in France in mid-1934. He says that at a CP inquisition trial where a Black CP member confessed his "deviations" some time before May 1936, "I knew, as I sat there, that there were many people . . . who had been skeptical of the Moscow trials." However, he couldn't have known or thought that because the first of the Moscow trials was not staged until August 1936.

Such anachronisms are bound to happen when people rely on their memory rather than more objective evidence. Wright's deliberate obfuscation about when he left the CP is a different and more serious defect because it tends to undermine the credibility of his narrative for anyone who reads the facts elsewhere.

Wright's conversion to communism as he understood it was a very important stage in his development. It broadened his horizons immensely and led him to the themes of his best writing. But most of his story is about the unsatisfactory side of his relations with his comrades in Chicago, especially his Black comrades on the South Side. He is very critical, sometimes even contemptuous, about their mannerisms, pronunciation, modes of speech, dress; about their suspiciousness, intolerance, anti-intellectualism, and "militant ignorance."

What Wright is describing here is a style that pervaded the whole CP at that time, and not only the American CP but all the other affiliates of the Stalinized Communist International. It was the style of the "third period," which lasted from 1928 to 1934. Third-period politics were ultraleft, sectarian, adventurist, often seemingly insane, and based on the delusion that revolution was around the corner, or nearer; the bizarre style of the period (when Wright first approached the CP) merely reflected the bizarre politics. At first it seems strange that Wright castigates the style of the third-period Black members but has nothing to say about the same style of the white members. It seems less strange when you realize that he has nothing whatever to say about third-period politics, even after they were abandoned and replaced by the new "People's Front" politics, which led to a new and "more respectable" style. Wright did not have much understanding of, or real interest in, politics.

Wright had a prickly personality, and the frictions between him and the CP could not have come all from one side. Relations became bitter at some points—for example when two CP leaders physically assaulted and ejected him from the May Day parade in 1936. But, as he says, he never had any political differences with the CP leadership, whatever policy it was pursuing. The CP leaders knew this was true, despite their occasional slanders against him. That was why they never expelled him, despite his long stretches of inactivity. Wright did not know the difference between revolutionary Leninism and counterrevolutionary Stalinism when he joined the CP, he never grasped the difference while he was in the CP, and he continued to equate these opposites after he left the CP. That is why there is not much to be learned politically from this book.



Great Lakes sailors

Continued from page 10

The existence of a two-class medical system, where poor people suffer the risks of medical training programs, is no surprise. However, this study suggests that Blacks are discriminated against independently of their economic status. Rich or poor, their skin color lessens their chances of survival in the medical-care system.

Calculating a relative risk factor based on the percentage of Blacks and whites treated by resident surgeons, there was a slight increase in the risk of being Black between 1952 and 1972.

Brian Johnson, M.D.
New York, New York

No excuse?

In the July 22 issue of the *Militant*, your page 2 article about the New York blackout correctly points out that Consolidated Edison and the city government have behaved in a destructive, racist, and sexist manner toward the people of the city. There is no excuse for their behavior.

In the same article you also discuss the looting that went on during the blackout. You quote a man who said that "the people . . . were showing their hunger." Well, I watched the hungry people on television. Did they eat the air-conditioners they stole? Was the dry cleaning they burglarized nourishing?

The rioters didn't hurt Con Ed's chairman, Mr. Luce. They didn't hurt me. They wantonly destroyed shops owned and operated by minority (as well as white) members of their own community. They degraded themselves and drove some of the stabilizing influences out of their neighborhoods. In short, they only hurt themselves.

Some clichés are true. One example is: two wrongs don't make a right. Just as there is no excuse for racism, sexism, or brutality, there is no excuse for violence, looting, or torture. The sociological pat phrases about the causes (poverty, unemployment, etc.), are not valid excuses either. I'm poor, I've been out of work for a year, and I did not join the looters. Violence is always wrong.

Georgianna Henry
Brooklyn, New York

Who do you trust?

A recent Harris poll asked people how much TV advertising they thought was "seriously misleading."

Expressing their faith in "free enterprise," 85 percent said some to all advertising was seriously misleading.

The same survey asked people to rate industries in terms of the "good" they provided consumers.

Vox populi, vox dei. The oil industry came in dead last. The auto companies came in twenty-third, and advertising was twenty-second.

Arnold Weissberg
New York, New York

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

Union contract negotiations for sailors on the Great Lakes ore fleet highlight some typical problems of workers in many industries. Unlicensed workers such as deckhands, engine-room firemen, and oilers, number about 2,500 members. They belong to United Steelworkers Local 5000 because much of the fleet is owned by major steel companies.

Local 5000 signed a new three-year contract as part of the basic steel industry pact that was ratified last April. Wages range from \$5 per hour to \$6.25 and will rise 3 percent annually in accordance with the basic steel contract.

About 1,200 deck officers, engineers, and stewards are represented by the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association-Association of Marine Officers Union District 2. Their contract expires August 1. The better paid MEBA-AMO members are not worried much about wages, but mainly about changes in the industry that will affect all crew members.

A long-standing grievance of lakes sailors has always been lack of shore leave. The loading and discharge time of ore boats is so short that sailors rarely got ashore during their nine-month seasonal employment. Some relief was won in the 1974 contract. A "Family Leave Program" gave officers twenty days off with pay during the season for every sixty days' sailing time. Local 5000 got a similar agreement that allowed sailors three to nine weeks vacation during the season.

A new and tougher problem for lakes sailors has now developed—job security. These workers face a drastic reduction in ships and jobs, the result of new methods of processing and transporting ore.

The steel industry is able to process raw ore at the mine sites in Minnesota and upper Michigan to produce taconite, a pelletized iron ore that yields 70 percent iron as compared to 42 percent from the raw ore. Taconite does not freeze, as the raw ore does, in transit to the steel mills.

The other development is in ship building. The latest ore carriers are more than 1,000 feet from stem to stern, and can replace as many as six of the smaller boats now in use. With the U.S. Coast Guard furnishing icebreakers, the fast new ships can remain in year-round service.

These technological advances raise productivity and corporate profits, but they threaten the livelihood of sailors. Union negotiators are also worried that the loss of jobs will erode employer contributions to various medical, pension, safety, and educational programs. They have reason to worry.

"Solutions" to similar technological employment have been reached in the longshore and printing industries, protecting those union members who were employed at the time the new production methods were introduced. These plans have worked mostly to the advantage of the employers. The end result is that fewer workers are employed.

There are answers to the problem of structural unemployment. But the narrow vision of the unions as presently constituted does not see them. If the procapitalist blinders are taken off, the benefits of technology are seen not to belong to the owners of industry. This technology is the product of society, developed in the schools and universities that are maintained at public expense for the good of all people.

Even to begin using new methods of production usually requires government aid, as provided by U.S. Coast Guard and government-operated dredges to accommodate bigger vessels in the old shipping channels.

Only independent organizations of the working class can turn modern technology to the service of society, reducing the hours of labor and raising the standard of living. This requires social vision and independent working-class political action.

Women in Revolt

Willie Mae Reid



Good-bye Dragon Lady

The following is a guest column by Diane Wang.

Remember the Dragon Lady? She was the sinister and mysterious "Oriental" in "Terry and the Pirates" comics. Take her, add a dash of the silent Japanese war bride, throw in a sneer at Vietnamese "gooks," and you'll have it—the sexist, racist stereotype of Asian women.

That image suffered quite a blow at the New York International Women's Year Conference in July. Eighty-two women attended as the Asian-American Women's Caucus.

The caucus chartered two buses. Once my bus was out of Manhattan and on the highway to the conference, I went around to find out who we were.

Most were Chinese, but we also included Filipina, Japanese, and Asian-Indian feminists. We were a diverse group: teachers, social workers, secretaries, bank workers. There was a Ph.D. in education, a microbiologist, students, and garment workers.

Many had never been to a women's meeting before. Perched in the bus aisle, I asked women why they were coming. "I want to form an opinion," one answered. "I'm interested to know what a lot of women will stand up for," said another.

Some had been in feminist groups before, but had dropped out. "If you are alone and have a different color, it's no good," one told me.

Even if women had never been in feminist groups, though, there was no question where they stood. "We have a right to stand up for our rights—we shouldn't be dismissed as the weaker sex," declared one woman. I laughed to myself thinking of how some unsuspecting sexist passing that woman on the street might mistake her for just a "shy and quiet" Chinese.

The women took many concerns with them to the conference—the racist stereotypes, disability benefits for pregnant working women, decent housing for our senior citizens, affirmative action, and child care.

A young widow who brought her four children along explained the dilemma she faced. She didn't want to

be labeled a "welfare cheat." But to work she needed to have child care for them.

In addition, Asian women have particular problems. The traditional Asian family assigns women a narrow role.

Halfway to the conference, some of the caucus leaders organized a discussion using the bus's microphone.

Everyone agreed on the need for equal rights for women. With little discussion, we took a straw vote and saw that everyone was for the Equal Rights Amendment.

A Chinese attorney took the microphone to explain the attacks on abortion rights. The Hyde amendment, just passed in congress, meant that poor women would be especially victimized, she explained. After others spoke we again took an opinion poll. More than half the women voted in favor of abortion rights. The others did not vote against—but abstained.

Several may have changed their minds during the conference. Coming home I talked with a Filipina. She was Roman Catholic, she explained, and would not consider having an abortion. But that did not mean she opposed the right of each woman to decide for herself, she said.

On the question of civil rights for gays and lesbians, one woman explained her view to the others this way:

"Some of us like sour food, others prefer salt. Some of us are Catholic and some are Protestant. But no one should be able to take away our rights because of our taste or beliefs." She said that the Chinese community might be confused about gay rights, but surely understood discrimination. "We Chinese are not going to discriminate against anyone fighting for their rights."

After the general bus discussion, a friend translated so I could ask an older garment worker her opinion. What did she think of the questions discussed? The woman smiled as she answered in Chinese, "I'm a woman. Of course I'm for women's rights."

Who could have put it better?

New York liberals: 'get tough with looters'

By John Hawkins

The spontaneous twenty-five-hour social explosion that swept New York City's Black and Puerto Rican communities during the July 13-14 electrical blackout brought to public attention what should be a well-known fact: these communities are forced to live under intolerable economic and social conditions.

This truth managed to slip through the lines of hysterically racist reportage on the rebellion and capture a bit of space in several articles that appeared in the capitalist press.

The July 17 *New York Times* reported unemployment figures rounded up by a candidate for Manhattan Borough president.

Unemployment for the city overall in April was 9.7 percent. But in the areas where the rebellion was centered the official figures were: East Harlem, 15.1 percent; Brownsville, 17.6 percent; Bushwick, 15 percent; South Bronx, more than 15 percent; Bedford-Stuyvesant, 13.9 percent; central Harlem and Williamsburg, both 13 percent.

The July 24 *Daily News* presented a small glimpse of the deterioration of ghetto neighborhoods. It reported on criticisms of federal blackout aid to the city made by U.S. Rep. Herman Badillo, a candidate for New York mayor.

According to Badillo, federal funds are earmarked for the demolition of only 121 buildings severely damaged during the rebellion, while 12,000 abandoned buildings in the city need to be torn down.

These figures alone are a damning indictment of the federal government's phony, but much-publicized, attempt to

eliminate the conditions that sparked ghetto rebellions across the country during the 1960s.

Compare these figures with those for Detroit at the time of the 1967 rebellion there. That powerful, spontaneous revolt lasted five days. It was beaten down only when the federal government garrisoned the city with 2,700 army paratroops. These were in addition to the 5,000 National Guardsmen already brought in to strengthen the force of city cops and Michigan state police in their murderous struggle to suppress the city's Blacks.

The median income in Detroit then was higher than in 99 percent of all U.S. cities. The city was receiving that year close to \$30 million in War on Poverty funds. Unemployment stood at 6 percent overall; for Blacks as a whole at 8 percent; and in the area where the rebellion began, at 11 percent.

In that area, 150,000 people were crammed into space built to house 30-40,000. But overall Detroit had, and still has, the highest number of single-family houses in the country.

That's not to say that life in the Black ghettos then was any more tolerable than it is today. But these facts point up one important conclusion: that things have become worse and are likely to get worse yet. With the end of the post-World War II economic boom, what the immediate future holds is more layoffs, social-service cutbacks, government budgetary belt-tightening, and further gutting of social gains.

Knowing they have no alternative to pose to this austere perspective, liberal Democratic Party politicians in the

New York mayoral race have adopted a "get tough" posture.

Badillo, who is Puerto Rican, and Manhattan Borough President Percy Sutton, who is Black, are both worried about the impact of "white backlash" to the "looting" on their election prospects. In an attempt to counter its effects, Sutton delivered a lengthy speech at a Harlem church the Sunday following the rebellion. He called the rebels "marauders" and "criminals" who would "drag an entire people backward and downward into the primeval ooze and slime of riot and disorder."

Two white liberal Democrats, Edward Koch and Bella Abzug, are both trying to take advantage of the "white backlash." Koch has criticized New York Mayor Abraham Beame for not calling out the National Guard and imposing a curfew on the areas where the rebellion flared. Abzug has also stated that the guard should have been called out.

The July 23 *Amsterdam News*, New York's largest Black newspaper, echoed the "get tough" talk of the liberals. In an editorial criticizing Black leaders for not containing the rebellion, the *News* noted that they probably couldn't have if they had tried, since their authority in the eyes of most Black youth is nil.

But the *News* went on to chastise some Black leaders for being soft on "looters":

"A typical phrase from our leaders went—'while not condoning violence, we must address the real problem, jobs.'"

"A statement like that is, in fact, a

subtle acceptance of the violence and looting that occurred. It is not enough 'not to condone' such looting, we must forthrightly and adamantly condemn it."

And in the same issue of the *News*, Benjamin Hooks, NAACP executive director-designate, said, "I deplore . . . the break-ins and looting of stores and private property." Hooks went on to congratulate the police for "exercising restraint"

This "get tough" talk from Black and white liberal Democrats is to be expected. When it comes to choosing between the interests of those they pretend to represent and the interests of those who own their party—big business—they choose the latter.

But for those who claim to speak for and lead the Black community, such statements take the fire off the real enemy—the government—and aim it directly at the Black community itself.

Such statements cover up the fact that the explosion was, in essence, a spontaneous protest against these conditions, an attempt to equalize in some measure the tremendous inequality in the distribution of wealth in this country.

It was also a protest against the strategy of relying on liberal Democrats, advocated by the *Amsterdam News* and practiced by the traditional Black leaders, which has failed to deliver any meaningful changes.

What more graphic illustration of this last fact than President Carter's refusal to visit Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant after the blackout, on the pretext that he is already "sensitive" to the plight of those communities?

August 26 actions set

By Gale Shangold

"Back alleys no more—abortion rights for the rich and poor," chanted 125 people at a July 20 picket line in St. Louis.

The demonstrators protested the recent banning of abortions in public hospitals in St. Louis and the surrounding county. The ban covers both Medicaid-funded abortions and those where women can pay.

The Metro-St. Louis chapter of the National Organization for Women sponsored the picket line.

Missouri officials have moved swiftly to restrict abortion since the June 20 decision of the U.S. Supreme Court that public hospitals cannot be required to perform abortions. The high court's ruling overturned a lower court decision that had ordered St. Louis hospitals to provide abortions.

An outdoor news conference in Toledo July 13 denounced the Hyde amendment, which would ban Medicaid-funded abortions. Hundreds of people on their lunch hour stopped to listen to the news conference and pick up literature. Two hundred people signed a mailing list for more information on abortion rights activities.

The news conference was sponsored by NOW, Welfare Rights Organization, and Toledo Medical Services.

Women in many cities are organizing activities to commemorate August 26, the anniversary of the day when women won the vote.

Emergency coalitions have been formed in Olympia and Tacoma, Washington, in the wake of government attacks on women's rights and the disruption by right-wing groups of the Washington State International Women's Year Conference, held July 8-10.

At a meeting of more than 100 women, the Action Coalition to Defend Women's Rights in Tacoma

voted to hold a march and rally on August 27. Groups participating in the coalition include Black Forum, Mexican American Commission, and the Tacoma Urban League.

In Olympia, the newly formed Thurston County Coalition for Women's Rights will hold a rally at the state capitol on August 26, and organize participation in the Tacoma march the next day.

Representatives of eighteen organizations met recently in New Orleans to call a rally for August 27. Initial endorsers include the NAACP Youth Council, National Abortion Rights Action League, American Civil Liberties Union, and New Orleans NOW.

In Seattle, an August 27 march and rally will demand ratification of the ERA, no forced sterilization, and an end to attacks on abortion and child care. Endorsers include the Washington State Association of NOW, Washington ERA Coalition, Associated Students of the University of Washington, Mujer, Gay Community Center, Lesbian Resource Center, and Socialist Workers Party.

"What we have gained; where we have to go" is the title of a forum scheduled for August 26 in Newark. The panel of speakers will discuss abortion rights, lesbian rights, the ERA, and the special problems of minority and working women. The forum is sponsored by Newark NOW.

In Denver, an August 27 panel will address affirmative action, forced sterilization, the Hyde amendment, and the ERA. The Auraria and East Metro-Denver chapters of NOW are organizing the meeting.

An entire city block in downtown Detroit will be set aside August 26 for tables, booths, workshops, and speakers on women's rights. The city's Human Rights Department is sponsoring the all-day event.

Kent State



Militant/Bob Laycock

Some 500 people rallied at Ohio's Kent State University July 22 to protest administration plans to build a gym on the site of the May 4, 1970, murder of four students by National Guardsmen sent in by Gov. James Rhodes.

The rally followed by ten days the arrest of 194 protesters sitting in on the proposed gym site.

Alan Canfora, who was wounded during the shooting, told the rally, "The university, the courts, the government want to cover up this hill. We understand the awful truth about May 4, and we will not allow it to be covered up by a gymnasium."

Also speaking was Alyson Kennedy, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Cleveland. "The Kent and Jackson State [Mississippi]

massacres are part of the history of the powerful anti-Vietnam War movement that involved millions of people. We can be proud of this history. The Kent and Jackson State shootings and cover-ups are just further examples of the lengths the capitalists will go to in protecting their interests," Kennedy said.

Other speakers included representatives of the Kent Black United Students, the campus student government, and the faculty union.

On July 25 the common pleas court lifted a ban on construction of the gym. Judge Joseph Kainrad also issued a permanent injunction against demonstrations on the site.

The May 4 Coalition, which has been organizing the protests, has begun preparations for a new demonstration.

August 20 protests set

Gay rights supporters still on the march

By Ginny Hildebrand

The wave of gay rights protests in June has spilled over into July, with more actions coming up in August.

In **Kansas City** a July 13 visit by antigay crusader Anita Bryant triggered that city's first gay rights action. More than 500 people picketed her appearance at the Christian Book-sellers' convention.

Chanting "Gay rights now!" and "No more Miamis!", members of the Christopher Street Association, Metropolitan Community Church, National Organization for Women, Socialist Workers Party, and others demonstrated.

At a rally prior to the picket line, Lea Hopkins of the Christopher Street Association stated, "[Bryant's] campaign won't work. As intelligent and aware people, we refuse to be demeaned in any way and forced back into the closets. The time has come for the gay community to stand together and make a public statement of solidarity. We are together, we are not alone, and we are not afraid anymore."

A July 24 rally in downtown **Baltimore**, initiated by the Maryland Gay Rights Coalition, received backing from the Lesbian Community Center, Baltimore Gay Alliance, Baltimore NOW, Socialist Workers Party, and New American Movement.

The featured speaker was Frank Kameny, a longtime gay rights spokesperson in Washington, D.C. He told the crowd of 250 that Anita Bryant "has done anything but send us back to the closet; she's driven many more of us out into the streets."

In **Philadelphia** 600 activists marched through the main shopping district July 23 during the busy Saturday noon hour.

At a rally in John F. Kennedy Plaza, the crowd heard from a long list of speakers, including a representative of the American Civil Liberties Union; David Thorstad of the New York Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights; Black community leader Father Washington of the Church of the Advocate; and Frank Kameny.

Judith Faulkner, speaking for Philadelphians for Gay Rights, stressed an

important theme of the day: unity is the most valuable asset in building a movement capable of fighting for and winning gay rights. The Philadelphia gay rights group was formed just a month ago and organized the march as a step toward this goal.

During the rally, right-wing fundamentalist Carl McIntyre and a handful of other bigots gathered near the crowd. News media quoted one of them as chanting, "Ding, dong, bell; all the gays will go to hell."

One reactionary zealot shoved Frank Kameny when he tried to hand the group a leaflet. Cops immediately swooped down to arrest Kameny for "disturbing the peace."

The rally continued, and the crowd voted to send Mayor Frank Rizzo a message condemning the arrest and calling for Kameny's immediate release. An hour later, Kameny was freed with all charges dropped.

In **San Diego**, the United Auto Workers Hall at 2266 San Diego Avenue will be the site of a gay rights rally on July 31 at 2:00 p.m. Sponsored by the San Diego Coalition for Gay Rights, the rally is also endorsed by the Center for Women's Studies and Services, People United to Fight Oppression/African Liberation Solidarity Committee, Clerical and Allied Services Employees-OPEIU, Socialist Workers Party, and others.

A **New York** march on the United Nations, organized for August 20 by the Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights, will focus attention on President Carter's two-faced pronouncements on human rights abroad while those very rights are denied to lesbians and gay men in this country.

Demonstrators will also demand: "Pass a New York City gay rights bill" and "End child-custody discrimination against lesbian and gay parents."

New York NOW has voted to organize a contingent in the march. NOW protesters will link gay issues with a call to stop the attacks on abortion rights and to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment.

Also supporting the demonstration is the Greenwich Village-Chelsea NAACP.

CLGR COALITION FOR LESBIAN & GAY RIGHTS



Militant/Lou Howort

New York Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights, which helped build June Christopher Street demonstration, now plans August 20 march on United Nations.

The march will step off from Washington Square Park at 1:00 p.m. and march to a 2:00 p.m. rally at the United Nations.

The CLGR can be reached at 17 West Seventeenth Street, eighth floor, New York, New York 10011. Telephone: (212) 242-6616.

In **San Francisco**, an August 20 demonstration is being planned by the Coalition for Human Rights. For more information, contact the coalition at 330 Grove Street, or call (415) 863-9890.

A July 21 meeting of 175 activists in **Los Angeles**, called by the Los Angeles Coalition for Human Rights, also voted to organize an August 20 action.

One focus of the protest there will be increased harassment of gay men and lesbians by the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD).

Since June, the LAPD, with the encouragement of Mayor Tom Bradley's administration, has launched a drive to "clean up" Hollywood. The target has been the large Hollywood gay population.

A special squad of 300 cops has been assigned and several million dollars appropriated for a new police station in the area. Gay couples have been harassed and arrested simply for walking hand in hand down the street.

The Coalition for Human Rights has already helped to mobilize thousands in gay rights demonstrations during June. A theme for the coalition's activities has been solidarity with others, struggling for their rights.

A statement of purpose adopted at the July 21 meeting reads in part: "Although activated in response to the organized attack of reactionary forces, we recognize that this effort to defeat gay rights is part of a broader movement to deny or abridge human and civil rights not only to gays but to women and minorities as well."

In line with this, the meeting voted to support the August 27 and 28 demonstrations in defense of women's rights called by the National Organization for Women.

The meeting also decided to endorse an August 6 rally to protest the operation of a nuclear power plant in south Los Angeles; to back the boycott of Coors beer and Florida orange juice; and to support women's right to choose abortion.

The coalition's next general meeting will be August 18, 7:30 p.m., at 5612 West Sunset Boulevard in Los Angeles. Supporters can contact the group at 2116 Hillhurst, Los Angeles, California 90027.

Blacks speak out for right to abortion

By Cindy Jaquith

An angry response from the Black community has greeted the racist moves of Jimmy Carter, Congress, and the Supreme Court to gang up on women's right to abortion. Federal government plans to cut off Medicaid funds for abortions will affect some 300,000 women each year, many of them Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans. Nearly 40 percent of minority women depend on Medicaid for health care.

Vernon Jordan, head of the Urban League, blasted Carter's pledge to deny poor women government-funded abortions and his crude justification that "many things in life are unfair."

"We expected Mr. Carter to be working as hard to meet the needs of minorities and the poor as he did to get our votes," Jordan said. "But so far, we have been disappointed."

In a syndicated column that appeared in the July 8-14 *Kansas City Call*, Jordan scored the hypocrisy of the courts and Congress on the abortion issue. "That hypocrisy becomes even more blatant when people endorse cutting off the availability of abortions to the poor while at the same denying poor families



St. Louis, July 20

Militant/Mike Skinner

with children the day care centers, the quality schools, and the work and income maintenance they so desperately need to lead independent lives."

The June 23 issue of the *Miami Times*, a Black weekly, attacked the Supreme Court's decision that states need not provide funds for abortions. The ruling "places the lives of

many prospective mothers in danger by forcing them back to the filthy butcher's table to terminate unwanted pregnancies," said the editors.

The *Miami Times* linked the callous action of the high court on abortion to its ruling that welfare payments may be denied to children of fathers who go on strike, are fired, or quit work. "Poor people through-

out the nation have been pushed down to a lower rung on the citizenship scale as a result. . . ." it said.

The front page of the July 7 *Chicago Defender*, one of the nation's largest Black newspapers, featured a local protest against the Hyde amendment, the bill in Congress that would terminate federal funds for abortions.

The paper quoted Sharon Scoby, chairperson of the Black Women's Task Force in Chicago. "The amendment is an insult to black women," Scoby said. "A lot of women will have to seek illegal abortions if the amendment is passed and a lot of women will die."

Also quoted was Brenda Eichelberger, head of the National Alliance of Black Feminists. "Women should have complete control over their bodies," she declared.

And the *Sun Reporter*, a Black newspaper in San Francisco, ran an editorial on abortion June 23, titled "Economic Discrimination in Medical Care."

"Abortions should be provided to any woman who wants one, at no cost to her. So should all types of medical care," the *Reporter* said.

Self-determination and independence now!



July 25 marked the anniversary of two key turning points in Puerto Rican history. On that day in 1898, U.S. invasion forces landed on the island. They have been there ever since. For more than seventy years the U.S. imperialists ruled Puerto Rico as a direct colony.

On July 25, 1952, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico was proclaimed.

The following article first appeared in the April-May issue of 'La Verdad,' newspaper of the Liga Internacionalista de los Trabajadores (LIT—Internationalist Workers League), Puerto Rican sister organization of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party. The author, Pablo Soto, is coordinator of the LIT.

Translation and footnotes are by the 'Militant.'

By Pablo Soto

The statements made last December 31 by Gerald Ford, former president of the United States, laid bare the colonial status of Puerto Rico. Without the authorization of the Puerto Rican people, Ford proposed a statehood bill. In turn, the Congress of the United States could have approved it without consulting the Puerto Rican people in any way.

These events demonstrated that the people of Puerto Rico have no control over the presidency, Congress, and the federal government of the United States. These institutions, on the other hand, have unilateral control over our country.

We are forced to abide by the decisions of a foreign government. Despite the illusions created by the fact that the local administration is in charge of Puerto Ricans, *Puerto Rico is a colony*. The constitution of the Estado Libre Asociado and Law 600¹

clearly establish that the ultimate power over Puerto Rico lies in the hands of the U.S. Congress.

This power was established by force with the invasion of 1898, as Sen. Henry Jackson [D-Wash.] pointed out some time ago. The referendum on Law 600 in 1952 and the plebiscite of 1967 on the island's status have not changed the fundamental reality that since the Spanish-American War, sovereignty over Puerto Rico resides in the [U.S.] Congress. This is proven by the fact that had the people repudiated Law 600 or the ELA in 1952 and 1967 respectively, Puerto Rico would not have had the power to change its status.

This power or right of the Puerto Ricans to choose our future status on our own (without the intervention of Congress or any foreign government) is what is known as self-determination. In order to be able to exercise our right to self-determination we must have independence, even if only for a short time, should the people freely decide to federate with another nation.

Only after breaking with the power and jurisdiction of the United States will Puerto Rico be able to decide its own future. In order to be able to freely decide on the status of Puerto Rico it is necessary that:

1. The federal government of the United States and the Congress of that country transfer all their powers to the people of Puerto Rico, who can only be represented by a constituent assembly, democratically elected, and independent of the previous colonial government.

2. The federal agencies transfer all their powers and services to the people of Puerto Rico.

3. The military and police system of the United States in Puerto Rico be fully and immediately dismantled before the process of self-determination is carried out. This means the immediate withdrawal of bases, armed forces, and police (the FBI and the CIA, among others) from Puerto Rico, as well as the dissolution of the National Guard as a military corps, since the latter is an integral part of the North American army.

These three measures are indispensable if we are to exercise the right of self-determination. These measures equal the independence or political separation of Puerto Rico from the United States.

Self-determination and independence are inseparable. The pretense of Popu-

lar or statehood leaders² that there has been self-determination in the past or that it can exist under the present status is *false*. There is no self-determination in Puerto Rico under U.S. sovereignty. No compromise is possible where self-determination is concerned. This right can only be exercised through independence. If supporters of statehood are so sure of their positions, they should be willing to let an independent and sovereign Puerto Rican people choose.

For the sake of the discussion among socialists of all tendencies over whether self-determination is possible without independence, we will refer to the work of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin (one of the leaders of the Russian revolution of 1917) on the right of nations to self-determination, written in 1914. This pamphlet refers specifically to Poland, a nation that was dominated by Russia, Germany, and Austria.

Lenin says: "Consequently, if we want to grasp the meaning of self-determination of nations, not by juggling with legal definitions, or 'inventing' abstract definitions, but by examining the historico-economic conditions of the national movements, we must inevitably reach the conclusion that *the self-determination of nations means the political separation of these nations from alien national bodies, and the formation of an independent national state*" (emphasis added).

In light of the colonial subjection of our people, the struggle for self-determination and independence is an immediate necessity. This is especially true at a time when the ideological offensive of the ruling class in favor of perpetuating the colony is growing, be it through annexation or through maintaining and strengthening the Free Associated State status.

2. This is a reference to the two major capitalist parties in Puerto Rico. The Partido Popular Democrático (PPD—Popular Democratic Party) supports the present form of colonial administration. It has maintained links with the U.S. Democratic Party. In Puerto Rico, it is frequently referred to as the autonomists or liberals. The Partido Nuevo Progresista, (PNP—New Progressive Party) advocates continued U.S. rule through making Puerto Rico the fifty-first state. The PNP has maintained links with the U.S. Republican Party. Its members are frequently called the annexationists or assimilationists. These two parties have administered Puerto Rico on behalf of U.S. imperialism since the commonwealth was set up in 1952.

The assimilationists and the liberals are all defenders of national oppression

We confront the national oppression of Puerto Rico by the United States. Behind Ford's statements in favor of statehood, or the previous declarations of American presidents in favor of the Estado Libre Asociado, is hidden the same intention. Only their search for a political formula better designed to perpetuate their rule differentiates them.

Their domination is based on the economic exploitation of Puerto Rico. By 1972 the Puerto Rican economy already had to set aside *more than 10 percent of its total production for the payment of profits abroad*. During that year, in which there was a gross product of \$5,793 million, the return on capital of foreign investments rose to \$656 million, or 11.3 percent of the gross product. (Data taken from "El Desarrollo Económico de Puerto Rico: 1940 a 1972" [The Economic Development of Puerto Rico: 1940 to 1972], by Eliezer Curet Cuevas, Management Aid Center, 1976.)

This book cites, among others, the following conclusion:

"Our economic development has been based on a growing dependence on the United States. The importation of capital and technology from that country and the orientation of production toward its market has led the economy of Puerto Rico into a full integration with the economy of the United States. The difficulty with this—and this is one of the main defects in the economic development—is that in the process, we Puerto Ricans have lost ownership of our economy and control over its course. In addition, the local economy has become more vulnerable to imports. The most obvious sign of the situation of dependence is that fact that a native capitalist class has not developed in numbers large enough to influence the course of broad economic activity of local business concerns. The program for economic development and its implementation by the agencies responsible for it has not demonstrated concern for, and interest in, the formation of local capital except in brief and futile efforts" (page 382).

What this gentleman, an economist and functionary of the Popular government for many years, is admitting with so much grief is an obvious reality. The Puerto Rican economy is controlled by American big business:

1. Estado Libre Asociado (ELA—Free Associated State) is the formal Spanish name of Puerto Rico's government, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. It was set up in 1952 under provisions of Public Law 600, an act of the U.S. Congress signed by President Truman on July 4, 1950. The law provided for Puerto Ricans drafting a constitution to set up an elected local government, for a referendum to approve the constitution, and for congressional review of the constitution. The law preserved provisions of past U.S. laws giving Congress, rather than the Puerto Rican administration, control over all important governmental functions.

in production, in distribution, and even more so in finances. The Puerto Rican bourgeoisie (the native bosses and executives) only participate in our economy as administrators, and even so only partially.

The native bourgeoisie will defend its interests in Puerto Rico as an administrator of American big business. Its political agents, the Partido Popular Democrático and the Partido Nuevo Progresista, can only defend U.S. interests in Puerto Rico. Their differences go no further than deciding what form of exploitation of the Puerto Rican people is most convenient: annexation or supposed autonomy. As sectors of the bourgeoisie, their rivalry is over which sector is going to exploit working people the most. Their rivalry as political parties or as bourgeois sectors is subordinate to their mutual role as oppressors of the working class and the Puerto Rican nation. Against the oppressed, the bourgeoisie is a single enemy.

There is only one way to exercise the right to self-determination. *With independence.* Two types of supporters of colonialism, the PNP and the PPD leaders, are opposed to self-determination. They defend the North American intrusion. Allying with one of these twin brothers against the other means to merely support one of the two forms of colonial domination. Let's remember the watchword of Albizu:³ *"Liberalism has its insolent aspects. Let us not forget the would-be liberals of all the empires; they have always been imperialists who have suggested the most subtle means to achieve full foreign absorption."*

Only a clear, complete, and open break with colonialism of all sorts can lead Puerto Rico to exercise its right to self-determination.

Unity for self-determination and independence

In order to fight against colonialism, the unity of all those who believe in the self-determination of Puerto Rico is essential, especially when the threat of annexation is growing.

The basis of colonialism in Puerto Rico is economic domination. Statehood, as the United States is trying to impose it on us, would not alter this reality in any way. The United States reinforces this idea by making it appear as if we would be able to participate in the federal government's decision making through the presidential election and congressional representation. But even the American working people themselves have no power over their country. This control is only exercised by the bourgeoisie. Statehood would not change the fundamental problem: the domination of our country by a foreign bourgeoisie.

The campaign for annexation creates the illusion of greater political power for the Puerto Rican people in order to better hide economic national oppression. The concept of annexation also derails the workers from their struggle for social change through the promise of a future statehood paradise in which all the ills we suffer from will be solved with millions of federal dollars.

The campaign for self-determination and independence is at once a campaign against the assimilationist and autonomist myths. It is a campaign to unite all those opposed to colonialism, either as the fifty-first state or as the ELA.

The differences among independence supporters are many. Although the struggle for independence unites us, we are separated, not only by our projections of what society will be like in a free Puerto Rico, but also by our

attitude toward the class struggle before and after achieving independence. Among supporters of independence there are different positions on every strike or social conflict. This is so because different social classes whose interests are not the same have a common interest in our independence. For example, Pete Martínez, ex-president of the Industrialist Association and senatorial candidate of the PIP,⁴ and a class-conscious worker from the businesses owned by Martínez, may both support independence. But to expect that the class interests of both are the same is an illusion or an effrontery.

Nevertheless, *unity in action* is possible. Nothing says that united actions against colonialism and assimilation cannot be held. This is absolutely necessary, just as a united protest against Ford's project would have been. Just as the march against the presence of Yankee governors in Puerto Rico a few years ago was, which brought together tens of thousands of independence supporters.

To develop this united campaign against colonialism and assimilation, to fight for self-determination and independence, we need the unity in action of all independence supporters. The united front can be formed on the basis of that unity in action around the demand on which all independence supporters agree: self-determination and independence. This unity cannot wait, because, in the meantime, the imperialists' campaign is moving forward. Only an in-depth discussion with full freedom of criticism can bring about greater unity on programmatic and organizational terms—a discussion that cannot remain in the meeting halls of the leaders of organizations, but in which every independence supporter must participate. *Unity will be created by the masses, not by the official agreements of leaderships.*

The development of a discussion among independence supporters must not prevent unity in action as soon as possible around issues on which there is already agreement and that urgently need to be acted on. Let's not wait for

4. The Partido Independentista Puertorriqueño (PIP—Puerto Rican Independence Party) is a moderate proindependence party.

Puerto Rico: U.S. Colony In the Caribbean

by José G. Pérez 24 pp., 35 cents. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Perspectiva Mundial

A biweekly magazine bringing a revolutionary-socialist perspective on the news to Spanish-language readers.

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La Verdad

Bimonthly newspaper of the Liga Internacionalista de Trabajadores in Puerto Rico.

Subscriptions: \$3.60 for six issues. Order from La Verdad, Aptdo. 22699 U.P.R., Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico 00931.

the colonial plebiscite imposed on us to act in a united way. Let's stop the imperialist maneuver in time.

There are other points that should also be taken up by the united front, although support to these points as such can go beyond the front. These refer to two issues that summarize the national oppression of Puerto Rico:

- To demand immediate and unconditional pardons for the five nationalist prisoners.
- To stop the United States from encroaching upon the natural resources of Puerto Rico, that is, the mines and the oil.

On the question of whether the workers should own and directly control the means of production (factories, land, and so on) there are big programmatic differences among the proindependence and socialist organizations. However, nothing says that unity cannot be achieved starting today around the issues mentioned before.

The anticolonialist struggle deepens the class struggle

As we already saw, although different sectors of Puerto Rican society have a stake in independence (including a very small sector of the native bourgeoisie, such as that represented by

Pete Martínez or the Velazcos) their social interests are not identical. They can even be antagonistic.

The interest that flows from the objective needs of the working class is the socialization of the economy and proletarian democracy (a government of the masses, without a privileged bureaucracy). The small bourgeois sector that favors independence seeks a greater separation from the United States on a governmental level, while retaining capitalism, a system that is dominated by North American capital on a world scale. The petty bourgeoisie, or small owners, administrators, and bureaucrats, on the other hand, vacillate between their aspirations to become part of the bourgeoisie and the need to join the working class under socialism.

The role of the petty bourgeoisie in today's Puerto Rico is, more than ever, acute and agonizing. This is so because the modern, highly technological industrial economy of Puerto Rico can only be controlled by the large sums of capital of the giant monopolies or by a socialist society. No one would think of dividing CORCO [Commonwealth Oil Refining Corporation] among small owners. That's why the pressure of the bourgeoisie is so great. The petty

Continued on page 30

Fourth of July protest in San Juan

By Alexis Irizarry
From *Perspectiva Mundial*

On the Fourth of July, the day that commemorates the independence of the thirteen colonies, thousands of Puerto Rican independence supporters came to San Juan [Puerto Rico] to demand that President Carter free the five Puerto Rican Nationalists. The Nationalists have been in U.S. prisons for more than twenty years, subjected to arbitrary treatment by federal authorities.

The picket and rally took place in front of the federal building in Hato

Rey, site of the offices of the FBI and the Federal Court of the United States in Puerto Rico.

The protest was called by the Comité pro Libertad de los Presos Políticos (CPLPP—Committee to Free the Political Prisoners).

The picket was dedicated to one of the prisoners, Andrés Figueroa Cordero, who is dying of cancer. The five are the longest-held political prisoners in the Western Hemisphere.

Speakers at the protest included Nelson Canals, of CPLPP; Juan Muri Brás, general secretary of the Partido Socialista Puertorriqueño (PSP—Puerto Rican Socialist Party); a representative of the Frente Revolucionario Anti Imperialista (FRAI—Revolutionary Anti-Imperialist Front); Prof. Isabel Gutiérrez de Arroyo; and Pablo Soto, coordinator of the Liga Internacionalista de los Trabajadores (LIT—Internationalist Workers League, sister organization of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party).



3. Pedro Albizu Campos was the central leader of the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party beginning in 1930. His intransigent struggle against U.S. colonial rule of Puerto Rico cost him several long prison terms, the last one from 1950 until shortly before his death on April 21, 1965. Albizu Campos's example has been an inspiration for the generation of independence fighters that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s.

20,000 steelworkers set Iron Range strike

By Marc Shaver

MINNEAPOLIS—Some 20,000 steelworkers in Minnesota and northern Michigan are set to shut down the iron mining industry in this region August 1.

"The sentiment is very strong for obtaining many benefits," said Linus Wampler, director of United Steelworkers of America District 33.

"Steelworkers here feel they've been shortchanged for a long period of time, and they are ready to flex their muscles. If the companies don't come through, they are ready to do it."

The iron miners are covered by the

basic steel contract and the Experimental Negotiating Agreement, which prohibits a nationwide steel strike.

But more than twenty USWA locals on the Mesabi Iron Range have voted to strike over some 1,250 unresolved local issues. They have received strike authorization from USWA President Lloyd McBride.

The principal issues reportedly concern incentive-pay plans and working conditions in the mines and processing plants.

The Iron Range has a tradition of labor militancy and solidarity. Two years ago a wildcat strike by 3,500

workers closed the Minntac plant in Mountain Iron, Minnesota, for nine days. Minntac is the largest plant on the range.

District 33 steelworkers voted overwhelmingly for Ed Sadlowski and the Steelworkers Fight Back slate in the international union elections last February. Several key local union leaders campaigned actively for Steelworkers Fight Back.

Linus Wampler, who identified his campaign with Sadlowski's, trounced incumbent Peter Benzoni in the race for District 33 director.

USWA local presidents from the Iron Range were among those who strongly criticized the basic steel contract signed last April. The majority of local presidents from District 33 voted to reject the settlement. Under ENA, the members do not have the right to vote on the agreement.

Some Iron Range workers complain that McBride has been slow in approving the local strikes and has extended only lukewarm support.

McBride has emphasized to the press

that he hasn't any "intention to make this a dogfight" with the industry. He claims "all the signs are positive" that settlements will be reached before the August 1 strike deadline. Negotiations are now in progress in Duluth, Minnesota.

If local strikes do take place on the Iron Range, they will be the first ones ever under the Experimental Negotiating Agreement, which was signed in 1973. A number of other basic steel locals took strike votes this year, but all the outstanding issues have since been settled except on the range.

A strike here would quickly have nationwide repercussions. Sixty percent of the iron ore produced in the United States comes from the Iron Range. The steel companies have been stockpiling iron ore in anticipation of a strike, but refuse to say how great a supply they have on hand.

The iron miners are up against the biggest steel companies in the country. They are going to need the active support of other steel locals and the entire labor movement in this fight.

Steel bosses seek injunction

JULY 16—The coordinating committee of major steel and iron ore companies filed a motion July 25 in U.S. District Court in Pittsburgh asking for an injunction to prohibit the impending strike on the Iron Range.

The companies claim that the issues involved are not local issues but involve wages, which are set by the national basic steel contract. Thus, the companies say, a strike would violate the Experimental Negotiating Agreement.

5,000 workers shut down shipyards

By Alan Sawyer

BOSTON—More than 5,000 shipbuilding workers voted unanimously July 17 to strike the huge General Dynamics Fore River Shipyard in Quincy, Massachusetts.

The next morning nothing moved inside the yard. Even management

Alan Sawyer is a member of Local 25, Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America.



Cops drag away one of twenty-six pickets arrested on first day of Quincy shipyard strike.

and supervisory personnel were barred from entering the gates by 2,000 enthusiastic pickets.

After most of the pickets had gone home, and police outnumbered strikers at the gates, the police moved in and arrested twenty-six pickets.

General Dynamics immediately filed an "unfair labor practice" charge against the union, and the National Labor Relations Board threatened to call in federal marshals if the union did not halt mass picketing.

The leadership of Local 5, Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America, agreed.

When several hundred union members showed up to picket the second day of the strike, they were met by union officials with leaflets telling them not to block company personnel from entering.

NLRB Investigator Francis McDonough then said he would not seek a court injunction, "because I am pleased with the cooperation from the union in curbing the mass picketing of yesterday."

McDonough and the local press are blaming the first day's confrontation on "troublemakers," "outside agitators," and "communists."

But when the company took reprisals by firing ten workers it claimed were involved in "illegal actions," it singled out such *insiders* as Local 5 Vice-president Albert Mariano, Secretary-treasurer George O'Kane, and Recording Secretary Ted Salvati.

Local 5 President Stanley Kyller responded to the firings by saying, "It's going to be a cold day in hell

before we go back to the bargaining table under these conditions.

Kyller said he had "never heard of this kind of thing" except in a wildcat strike.

Wages are the big issue in the strike. General Dynamics workers are demanding parity with other shipbuilding workers in the Boston area.

As of next month first-class mechanics at Bethlehem Steel's East Boston repair yard will be making \$7.07 an hour. Mechanics at General Dynamics make only \$5.67 an hour. Less skilled workers get even less. The top company offer is \$6.57 for skilled workers.

Union officials say they have been agreeing to less than the prevailing wage scale ever since General Dynamics bought the Quincy Yard from Bethlehem in 1966.

"Management told us: Give us time to get established, then we'll make it up to you later," union President Kyller told the press. "Well, later is now."

Ind. UAW local under attack

By David Ellis

ELWOOD, Ind.—Workers at the Essex wire-assembly plant here, on

strike since April 6, are facing a violent union-busting assault.

The 220 employees, mostly women, make an average of only \$2.76 an hour. They have been organized into United Auto Workers Local 1663 for seven years.

In July, Indiana Gov. Otis Bowen ordered state police to escort eighty-three scabs in and out of the plant.

Not a single plant guard has been arrested for the many beatings and shootings of pickets. But more than forty strikers have been arrested on charges ranging from malicious trespassing to assault and battery.

The company offers only a sixty-two-cent-an-hour wage increase over three years. It demands an open shop, refuses to recognize seniority and job posting, and says it will only rehire thirty of the strikers.

This "offer" was rejected by the workers in a vote of 146 to 6 on July 23.

Solidarity and morale remain high. After the vote, angry UAW members denounced the company's stance and vowed to continue the fight.

"I'm not crawling on my belly back to work," said one middle-aged striker. "We'll fight as long as it takes. We all go back, or none of us go back!"

Solidarity key in 1199 victory

By Mike Finley

PHILADELPHIA—A strike by Temple University Hospital workers, members of District 1199C of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, ended July 12 in a victory for the union.

Workers won a 12 percent wage hike over two years, only slightly less than

Mike Finley is a member of District 1199C, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees.

their original demand of 13 percent.

The present level of benefits was retained against management efforts to slash it.

And licensed practical nurses won three weeks of vacation, a major union demand.

On all other issues the Temple settlement was similar to that negotiated between District 1199C and nine other hospitals the week before.

The union had resumed mass picket-

ing on July 11 in defiance of a court injunction. More than thirty pickets were arrested and hundreds more temporarily detained by the police.

The union then called for a mass rally July 12 to support the strike. Hundreds of District 1199C members from other hospitals organized to support the embattled Temple unionists and to rebuild the picket lines.

Faced with this show of union solidarity, and unable to run the hospital with only administrators, doctors, and other scabs, the Temple administration capitulated just hours before the scheduled rally.

The Temple hospital strike was another in a series of tests for the Philadelphia labor movement. The bosses here hoped to inflict yet another defeat on the city's working class. By settling with every other hospital and then concentrating their fire on the Temple workers, the hospital bosses sought to isolate and defeat one section of the union.

Labor solidarity was the crucial factor that turned back this attack.

Wisc. AFSCME ends walkout

By Tony Prince

MILWAUKEE—Wisconsin state workers ended a fifteen-day walkout July 18. The 17,000 public employees, represented by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, settled for a 7 percent or thirty-eight-cent wage boost the first year, and 7.5 percent or forty-two cents the second year.

The union had already lowered its wage demand twice.

The new contract contains a cost-of-living allowance that will take effect January 1, 1979.

The union also won a nonrecrimination clause against all strikers, including strikers who aren't union members.

The state government had tried to break the strike by using National Guardsmen to perform some of the strikers' jobs.

The AFSCME leadership did little to build public support for the strike, relying instead on the good graces of Democratic Gov. Martin Schreiber and on the hope of a "good" mediator.

The National Organization for Women and the student government of the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee backed the strikers.

Strong support came from the other two Wisconsin AFSCME locals.

Busing aided Boston students, study shows

By Lee Artz

BOSTON—A report card would show mixed marks for public schools here at the end of three years of desegregation.

One important gain made through desegregation has just been reported in a study of the Boston School Department's reading division. A comparison of reading scores for the past two years shows that the gap between Black and white students' achievement is narrowing.

The reading performance of Black students has improved in all grades except the tenth. The report was optimistic about continued improvement.

Frank Ridge, acting director of reading, said the improvement was due to an emphasis on new courses, the dedication of teachers, and the *federal court order desegregating the schools*.

Despite all the obstacles, Black, Hispanic, and white students have benefited from desegregation and busing, even in the racist fortress of Boston.

On the negative side of the report card, the all-white school committee has failed to hire more Black administrators and staff as previously ordered by Federal Judge W. Arthur Garrity. This is consistent with its overall record of resisting desegregation.

According to the Boston School Department's report on enrollment and employment, only thirty-seven more Black teachers have been hired in the past two years for elementary and middle schools combined. There are ten less Black high school teachers than before the court-ordered affirmative-action plan.

At the same time that the school board has failed to hire more Black teachers and failed to supply more textbooks and improved educational services, the system has been helping private schools.

Just before the federal desegregation order was handed down in 1973, the city began providing textbooks and teaching services to Catholic and private schools in Boston.

Since 1974 the school department has "lent" city-funded textbooks to children—all white—attending private schools. Many of these private city schools are antibusing academies organized to support the white boycott of the desegregated schools.

Because of this, HEW is threatening to cut off \$11 million that would fund special educational programs for minority students. The Emergency School Assistance Act funds are provided to meet the special needs of desegregation, such as teacher aides and instructional aides.

Responding to these new reports, Boston Mayor Kevin White said, "The city is clearly in a more stable stage. . . . It is probably not germane at this point to argue whether desegregation has worked or not worked."

But for Boston's 31,631 Black and 7,964 Puerto Rican students that is precisely the point. Because for them it has meant some improved schools.

Black rights backers speak out in L.A.

By Joanie Quinn

LOS ANGELES—Supporters of school desegregation at a July 15 Militant Forum here discussed the recent decision by Superior Court Judge Paul Egly to reject the Los



DIANE WATSON

Angeles School Board's fake desegregation proposal.

Egly ruled that the school board's plan was constitutionally inadequate because it failed to desegregate a single school. He gave the board an October deadline to produce a new plan.

Diane Watson, a Black woman and the only prodesegregation member of the school board, spoke out strongly for busing at the forum. "I don't quite understand how we can desegregate a school district of 710 miles without some kind of transportation," she said.

"I say it's not the bus, it's us these racists are opposed to."

Watson urged the audience to join the fight to desegregate the schools. "If there is one school that is left [racially] isolated, then we have abdicated our responsibility," she concluded.

H. Hart-Nibbrig, the NAACP trial counsel in the suit that forced the court to rule on desegregation, challenged the board's phony excuses for not desegregating.

"When the board says it wants to exclude kindergarten through third grade from desegregation to protect the benefits that minority children receive

from [federal] Title I programs," he said, "what they are really trying to protect is their effort to create 'separate but equal' schools."

"If desegregation goes through," Hart-Nibbrig added, "there will be more money available for programs like bilingual education, not less."

Hart-Nibbrig also criticized the city council and Democratic Mayor Thomas Bradley for "not speaking out strongly in defense of desegregation."

Jon Hillson, author of *The Battle of Boston: Busing and the Struggle for School Desegregation*, drew a parallel between Boston and Los Angeles.

"Both are national testing grounds in the government's campaign to roll back Black rights," Hillson said. "But Boston has shown that organized protest against these attacks can rouse a force strong enough to successfully defend Black and Chicano rights."

The Militant Forum concluded a week-long tour of Los Angeles by Hillson, who was active in Boston's probusing movement. He was interviewed on five television and seven radio programs during the week.

Other speakers at the forum included Charles Johnson, president of the Southern California NAACP; Laura Garza of the Los Angeles Student Coalition Against Racism; and Roland Coleman of the National Conference of Black Lawyers.

By Della Rossa

LOS ANGELES—The heavy plate-glass window of the Crenshaw Pathfinder Bookstore—featuring a display on Jon Hillson's tour—was shattered by a brick early July 15.

Speakers at the Militant Forum that evening denounced this threat against supporters of desegregation.

Diane Watson told the *Militant*, "I am appalled by this kind of attack. It is the same tactics the racists used in Boston, and in Kentucky, and Chicago in the 1950s when the establishment was fighting change. It is necessary for Anglos, Blacks, and Chicanos to unite to successfully fight these attacks."

Charles Johnson, an attorney and president of the Southern California NAACP, condemned the attack and added that the blame for such violence ultimately rests at the door of the government, which is responsible for whipping up an anti-Black climate.

...AFT

Continued from back page

no different from the Republicans, education and other social services continue to deteriorate.

Many teachers will be looking to this year's AFT convention to evaluate the union's political strategy and map an effective way to fight back.

The membership of the Hayward Federation of Teachers in California has submitted a resolution calling on the AFT to "seek the support and sponsorship of the AFL-CIO and independent unions for a nationwide conference of the labor movement to discuss taking concrete steps to establish an independent party of labor, which would champion the economic and social interests of all workers and the poor."

The May convention of the California Federation of Teachers also reflected a growing awareness by teachers that to defend the schools they must rely on their own independent strength, in alliance with the labor movement and the Black and Chicano communities.

Recognizing the "concerted, bipartisan attack on working people and their unions," the CFT delegates passed a resolution for the AFT convention calling for a "national conference of all public employee unions, including SEIU, AFSCME, and NEA, to discuss steps to be taken to develop a united labor strategy."

The 1.8-million-member National Education Association, the AFT's rival

in the teacher-union movement, adopted at its June convention a resolution to help initiate "a conference of all public employee organizations" for the purpose of "creating a united strategy to organize against the cutbacks and budget cuts being perpetrated at all levels of government across the country."

AFT support to such a conference would be a giant step toward ending the AFT-NEA factional warfare that has plagued teachers for the past decade. It would provide an arena where teachers and other public workers could jointly organize powerful demonstrations in defense of their rights and the social services vital to all working people.

Most important, such a united conference could develop an independent political strategy for teachers, based on the full mobilization of labor and its allies in a fight against the real enemies of education, the Democratic and Republican parties.

...busing

Continued from back page

quotas to force business and other racist institutions to increase the proportion of minorities in the professions and skilled jobs. The court struck down as "reverse discrimination" a medical school program that provided 16 of 100 entering positions for students from "disadvantaged" groups.

The racist forces raising the cry of "discrimination against whites" rarely comment on the fact that the proportion of minority students entering medical school *dropped* last year from 7.5 percent to 6.8 percent.

The California Federation of Teachers state convention resolved to "oppose the Bakke decision and reaffirm its commitment to affirmative action programs with specific objectives and timetables."

The CFT pointed out that "affirmative action programs were initially established and/or mandated in recognition of past, longstanding admission practices which systematically excluded minorities and women from graduate schools."

Rather than constituting "reverse discrimination," the CFT policy statement maintained, "specific goals, or 'quotas' and timetables, have been established . . . to help insure that discriminatory practices are ended."

The CFT has filed a friend-of-the-court brief with the U.S. Supreme Court opposing *Bakke*. This action places the CFT in direct opposition to the AFT leadership, which has filed a brief supporting the *Bakke* decision.

Busing

The issue of busing to desegregate education confronts teachers across the country. Two years ago the Shanerite AFT leadership reversed the union's twenty-year-old probusing position and defeated all convention resolutions to reaffirm support to busing.

Last year, under pressure from many

delegates and the newly organized AFT Caucus on Desegregation and Equality in Education, the AFT bureaucrats were compelled to modify their position. They agreed to support busing as only one of several "tools" for desegregation.

Most of the other so-called remedies supported by Shanker, such as "magnet schools" and various "feeder" systems, have proved to be conscious efforts to avoid desegregation entirely.

A strong desegregation resolution has again been submitted to the AFT convention by the CFT and the Washington Teachers Union, as well as by other AFT locals.

The AFT Caucus on Desegregation and Equality in Education, which last year won the endorsement of some 200 AFT leaders for its probusing stand, will again conduct a series of meetings and forums at the convention.

An increasing number of teachers and parents are learning from experience that the government attack on education cannot be separated from the attacks on busing and affirmative action. These attacks, organized by the same racist and antilabor forces, aim to divide working people and weaken the entire labor movement.

The AFT needs to take the lead in opposing these attacks on minority students and mobilizing the full power of the labor movement for quality, desegregated education. Failure of the AFT to do so will make it increasingly difficult for teachers to win the necessary support of parents in the fight to defend teacher rights and public education.

—J.M.

...Puerto Rico

Continued from page 27

bourgeoisie depends on credit from big business. Who is going to finance CORCO in a republic that is not socialist if not the same Chase Manhattans and First National Banks, or perhaps a capitalist bank in Sweden or France?

The struggle for self-determination and independence is, at the same time, a struggle for control of the Puerto Rican economy. That is why the struggle between the different classes to determine what type of economy Puerto Rico will have is intensifying. Contrary to what some like to pretend, the class struggle is intensifying.

National liberation represents not only a political change, but also economic changes. That is why those who defend the interests of the working class must have total freedom of

criticism so that even within the united front they are able to educate the working class and help in this way to advance the socialist revolution. What type of republic Puerto Rico needs is a question already being discussed among the proindependence forces that support unity in action.

The working class demands the collective ownership of the economy. It is the only class that can, through socialism, end the national oppression Puerto Rico is suffering—an oppression that in a capitalist republic Yankee imperialism will be able to maintain through its control over world finances, as is the case in the Dominican Republic or Panama, for example.

In order for the working class to follow this road, starting now, so that no banana dictatorship can get in the way of socialism, the working class must only rely on itself, on its own organization and political program. It must distrust the Severo Colberg and Bobby Rexach capitalists.⁵ It must distrust the ambivalent [PIP President] Rubén Berríos and Pete Martí-

nez, who are today independence supporters at the same time that they support the productivity campaign of the PPD (as was the case in 1975). No one knows whom they will support tomorrow.

The working class needs the united front for self-determination and independence at the same time that it needs its full freedom of criticism and programmatic and organizational independence.

This makes the political independence of the working class in relation to the bourgeois and even the petty-bourgeois politicians more necessary than ever. Against the capitalist politicians of the PPD and the PNP and against the ambivalent politicians such as the ones from the PIP, the working class has to defend *its own interests*, not those of another class.

5. Severo Colberg and Bobby Rexach are prominent figures associated with the PPD who have criticized the party leadership for not fighting for the transfer of more spheres of authority from the U.S. Congress to the commonwealth administration.

Calendar

DETROIT

PROSPECTS FOR AUTO WORKERS: REPORT FROM THE UAW CONVENTION; REPORT FROM THE AUTO PLANTS. Speakers: Hank Wilson, unit president, UAW Local 600; Tom Neal, UAW convention delegate, Local 174; Robin Mace, UAW Local 900 women's committee; Al Duncan, UAW Local 600 stamping plant; others. Sun., July 31, 7 p.m. Center Methodist Church, 23 E. Adams. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 961-5675.

NEWARK, N.J.

SPEAKOUT ON IRELAND. Speakers: Bernadette (Devlin) McAliskey; Anne Farrelly, Movement for a Socialist Republic; Fergus O'Hare, People's Democracy. Tues., Aug. 2, 8 p.m. Rutgers (Newark) University, Hill Hall, rm. 105. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (201) 482-3367.

OMAHA, NEB.

PROSPECTS FOR SOCIALISM IN AMERICA. Class outlining a socialist strategy in the labor, Black, and women's movements. Thurs., August 4, 7:30 p.m. Univ. of Nebraska, Omaha, Milo Bail Student Center, rm. 302. Donation: \$.50. Ausp: YSA. For more information call (712) 323-2545.

... 'migra'

Continued from page 7

sentatives in Congress that the administration plan will not shut off a supply of supercheap labor. As the administration has refined the program since February, it has become increasingly apparent that Carter is determined to calm any such fears.

In his July 13 interview with the *Los Angeles Times*, INS Director Castillo offered a rather candid view of the administration's approach to the issue of undocumented workers.

"Some parts of the U.S. economy make a lot of money off the aliens," he observed.

"Some companies hire them and don't pay them much. From that perspective it's good. It increases the gross national product, holds down wages and holds down prices."

He added that to the extent that U.S. workers were displaced, this was "not good."

It may be that the Carter adminis-

tration has still not reached a consensus on all aspects of the plan.

But for them, the question is not whether or not to deal a cruel new blow to undocumented people. The only question is how best they can get away with it.

...PUSH

Continued from page 3

as he had of keeping those he made during his election campaign.

Though school desegregation and busing are crucial issues in Los Angeles, there was no serious discussion of either at the convention.

During the five-day convention, however, 5,000 students were bused to a rally cosponsored by PUSH and the Los Angeles School Board. At the rally, Jackson explained, "Busing is absolutely necessary, but without the will to learn, busing is irrelevant."

"What does it matter," he asked, "if your book is new or old if you open neither? If your school is modern or

run-down if you attend neither?"

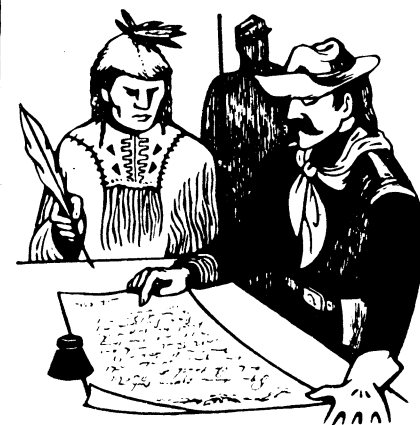
Jackson has given similar speeches as part of a national campaign called "Push for Excellence in Education" (EXCEL).

The EXCEL program calls for stricter disciplining of Black students, reinforcing the idea that curtailing students' rights produces better education.

The stress laid on "discipline" by the EXCEL campaign plays into the hands of racist antibusers by echoing their argument that Black students themselves are the cause of the inferior education they receive.

It can become a way of avoiding a resolute fight for school desegregation and busing. More importantly, it can blur the line between pro- and antibusing forces.

For instance, despite Jackson's verbal support for busing in his speech to the rally, a well-known bigot, Bobbi Fiedler, a newly elected school-board member and leader of the antibusing BUSTOP outfit, was invited to sit in the audience and was introduced to the assembled students.



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...Carter: president of the rich

Continued from page 4

computer file that could include information on millions of citizens.

- Support for repressive legislation included in Senate Bill 1437, the proposed new federal criminal code. This bill contains dozens of restrictions on the right of citizens to speak freely and to protest government policies.

- Refusal to reverse the gag rule that prohibits Victor Marchetti, a former Central Intelligence Agency official, and a critic of the agency, from revealing to the public what he knows about illegal CIA operations.

What about Carter's record in regard to those who suffer special forms of oppression under capitalism? His attitude toward the right to abortion has already been mentioned. And his attitude on gay rights is just as bad.

During Anita Bryant's vicious campaign against gay rights in Florida, Carter was asked if he thought that gays should be allowed to adopt children or teach school. "That's something I'd rather not answer," Mr. Human Rights replied.

A true defender of human dignity for all, Carter added, "this is a subject I don't particularly want to involve myself in. I've got enough problems without taking on another."

Although he hasn't put it so baldly, Carter has taken a similar attitude toward the rights of Blacks. At a news conference in June, he was asked to comment on the case of the Wilmington Ten, the victims of a racist frame-up so raw that even the Justice Department has had to undertake an investigation.

While declining to say anything about the case, Carter delivered a ringing defense of the "judicial system" that carried out the frame-up.

With the racist offensive against school desegregation continuing in the streets of numerous cities, in the chambers of the Supreme Court, and in the halls of Congress, Carter has remained silent. John Shattuck, Washington director of the ACLU, adds that the Carter administration has been "openly hostile when minority rights were under attack in Congress."

The Carter administration's lack of interest in enforcing civil rights laws was indicated in a July 9 article by *Washington Post* reporter Austin Scott. According to Scott, Carter "has no top-level aides assigned to monitor civil rights enforcement. . . .

"The one aide to domestic affairs adviser Stuart Eizenstadt who is assigned to monitor civil rights enforcement has spent most of his time on other matters."

Back in March, *New York Times* columnist Anthony Lewis complained about criticism of the Carter administration. Pleading for a patient attitude on the part of his readers, Lewis pointed out that "it is just six weeks since the inauguration," and that "there seldom is an instant way to effect social or economic change in this country."

Now we have had six months of Carter. Is there really any reason to expect that his policies will be any different in another six months?

As the *Militant* said at the time, "The point is that Carter is *against* any significant social or economic change in this country—*instant* or otherwise."

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THE MILITANT

WHICH WAY FOR TEACHERS?

Political action

By Jeff Mackler

"We want to place at the top of the Carter-Mondale priorities a restoration of an administration and of a government that places the education of our children as the number one priority."

So promised Walter Mondale, then Democratic Party candidate for vice-president, in his keynote address to last year's convention of the 450,000-member American Federation of Teachers.

Mondale, who has spent much of the past year hustling labor support for the Carter administration at various union conventions, will again keynote the AFT convention scheduled this year for August 15-19 in Boston.

After seven months under the Democratic administration, teachers may want to ask the vice-president what happened to the promises and priorities he talked about.

Jeff Mackler is organizer of AFT Local 1423 in Hayward, California, and coordinator of the AFT Caucus on Desegregation and Equality in Education.

Within weeks after the election last November, Carter began scrapping his pledges to labor, Blacks, and women. (See story on page 9, "President of the rich.")

AFT President Albert Shanker wrote in his March 13 *New York Times* column: "In real dollars, the schools will be getting less money under the Carter budget than they are getting now under a budget which the Congress compelled President Ford to accept."

"It cannot be," Shanker declared, "that the President does not mean to keep his oft-stated commitment to a larger federal support for education."

But the thousands of Philadelphia teachers now receiving dismissal no-



Militant/Dick Roberts

tices are aware that someone has not kept their "commitment" to education.

The teachers in Cincinnati, Kansas City, and elsewhere, who were fired and jailed this past year for exercising their right to strike, are learning that the Democratic Party "friends of labor" are quick to turn on those who elected them.

Teachers in New York City, Shanker's stronghold, have seen a Democratic mayor and governor lead the budget-cutters in firing approximately 21,000 school employees in one year.

Last year's AFT convention gave an overwhelming 91 percent endorsement to the Carter-Mondale ticket. Many teachers hoped that the Democrats would reverse the attacks on teachers and education that they had seen growing under Nixon and Ford.

But now the Democrats control the White House, Congress, and a big majority of state governments. The results? Additional billions have been appropriated for the military. New tax breaks have been engineered for the rich. While under this administration,

Continued on page 29

Civil rights

Sharp debates on affirmative action, quotas, busing, and other civil rights issues are expected at the American Federation of Teachers convention in Boston, August 15-19.

The recent state convention of the California Federation of Teachers passed a resolution that fundamentally challenges the AFT leadership's position on affirmative action and layoffs.

The new CFT policy states that "in the event of a 'reduction in force,' no 'protected group' under affirmative action shall be disproportionately affected." AFT President Albert Shanker insists that layoffs must take place on the basis of strict seniority.

Under Shanker's "last hired, first fired" position, the gains of affirmative

action won by civil rights struggles in past years are today being wiped out.

In Shanker's own local, the United Federation of Teachers in New York City, the proportion of minority teachers has been slashed from 13 percent to less than 5 percent by discriminatory layoffs in the course of the city's "budget crisis." This pattern is being repeated throughout the country.

The U.S. Supreme Court's recent decision legalizing seniority systems that perpetuate discrimination in no way justifies the AFL-CIO leadership's opposition to modifying seniority. Rather, it makes even more pressing the labor movement's obligation to defend the right of minority workers to equal job rights.

The Washington (D.C.) Teachers Union and AFT locals in California have submitted resolutions to the AFT convention to defend affirmative action.

Quotas

The *Bakke* decision of the California Supreme Court poses the issue of

Continued on page 29

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